

**A Forgotten Bestselling Author: Laura Terracina in Early
Modern Naples**



Amelia Papworth
Fitzwilliam College,
University of Cambridge

August 2018

This dissertation is submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Preface

This dissertation is the result of my own work and includes nothing which is the outcome of work done in collaboration except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text.

It is not substantially the same as any that I have submitted, or, is being concurrently submitted for a degree or diploma or other qualification at the University of Cambridge or any other University or similar institution except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text. I further state that no substantial part of my dissertation has already been submitted, or, is being concurrently submitted for any such degree, diploma or other qualification at the University of Cambridge or any other University or similar institution except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text.

It does not exceed the prescribed word limit.

Acknowledgements

Firstly, I would like to express my sincerest thanks to my supervisor Dr Abigail Brundin, for her continuous and generous support throughout my academic career, and for encouraging me to embark upon this project. I could not have wished for a better or more inspirational mentor – thank you. My thanks too to my examiners, Professor Brian Richardson and Dr Mary Laven, whose insightful comments and stimulating discussion were extremely helpful.

My warm thanks to all the librarians who have been so helpful along the way, not least everyone in the Cambridge University Library Rare Books Room, the Biblioteca Nazionale di Firenze, the Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli, the Biblioteca dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, and the Biblioteca Civica di Padova. Dr Marco Faini, Dr Francesco Lucoli and Mr Axel Erdmann gave some invaluable bibliographical information and saved many hours of searching. My thanks too to Dr Rodrigo Cacho, Dr Helena Sanson, Dr Tim Chesters, and Professor Virginia Cox for their feedback. Austin Tiffany and Maya Zakrzewska-Pim were both excellent proofreaders, for which I thank them.

Alistair Swiffen and Catherine Hasted from the CSAH, and the Italian section of Cambridge University, have always been hugely encouraging. Fitzwilliam College is truly a special place, and I have been very lucky to write this dissertation there. The fellow convenors of Writing Women in History have also brought much joy, laughter, and unexpected conversations to the past few years, and may we never lose that spirit! Last but not least, I would like to thank everyone who has provided moral support: St Helen's friends, Catz and Fitz friends, Pisa friends, and anyone who does not quite fit in those categories, but helped and encouraged me along the way too. To the family,

thank you for listening to me bore on about it all. And to my friend Rebecca Sugden, you really have been there through all the tears and laughter. Thank you.

Contents

A Note on Transcription	7
List of Abbreviations	8
Introduction	9
Review of literature	14
Terracina: a short biography	23
The faces of Terracina	29
Overview of dissertation	41
Chapter One: A Product of Naples	43
The Terracina family and the Spanish nobility	46
Terracina and the Accademia degli Incogniti	50
The woman's academy: networks	61
Chapter Two: The Journey to Print	80
Collaboration and control	99
The debacle of the <i>Seste rime</i>	115
An assessment of input	132
Chapter Three: Using the Book	139
Terracina as a pen-for-hire	151
Women and the choral anthology	158
The <i>Settime rime</i>	172
Chapter Four: Political Lyric	180
The personal and the political	190
The pope and his lost flock	197
A call for Christian unity	207
Taking the fight to the enemy	215
The damage of war	220
Chapter Five: Religious Lyric	233

The worldly <i>rime spirituali</i> of Laura Terracina	240
Chapter Six: Conclusion: The Reception and Afterlife of Terracina's Poetry	258
Terracina's readers in the sixteenth century	258
Terracina's posthumous fame	273
Bibliography	280
Works by Laura Terracina	280
Primary Sources	284
Secondary Sources	292
Websites	330

A Note on Transcription and Editing Conventions

Name conventions

Names will be spelt as found, in the first instance, in the *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* and, if not in that, as found in Virginia Cox's *Women's Writing in Italy*. Spelling variations of names quoted in primary sources are maintained. Any additional names which have variant spelling will be indicated in a footnote.

Transcription conventions

The transcriptions from manuscripts and early modern texts are standardised to the following conventions, for ease of comprehension:

- Original spelling has been preserved. Punctuation and capitalisation have been modified where necessary for ease of comprehension, or where there is a clear typographical error in the original text.
- 'u' and 'v' have been differentiated as 'u' and 'v' as appropriate in modern Italian.
- 'i' and 'j' are regularised.
- Long 's' ('ſ') has been changed to 's'.
- 'ß' has been expanded to 'ss'.
- Contractions have been expanded (e.g. 'grā' to 'gran').
- Superscripted letters and abbreviations are silently lowered and expanded (e.g. 'Ill.^{mo}' to 'Illustrissimo').
- Accents no longer used in modern Italian have been deleted; where an accent would be necessary in modern Italian it has been added.

Page numbering conventions

Page numbers, including those of Terracina's works, will be placed in footnotes. The MHRA referencing system has been followed.

List of Abbreviations

Rime = *Rime de la signora Laura Terracina* (Venice: Gabriel Giolito de Ferrari, 1548)

Seconde rime = *Rime seconde della signora Laura Terracina di Napoli. Et di diversi a lei* (Florence: Lorenzo Torrentino, 1549)

Discorso = *Discorso sopra tutti li primi canti d'Orlando Furioso fatti per la signora Laura Terracina* (Venice: Gabriel Giolito de Ferrari, 1549, in fine 1550)

Quarte rime = *Quarte rime della signora Laura Terracina. Detta Phebea ne l'Academia de gl'Incogniti* (Venice: Giovan Andrea Valvassori detto Guadagnino, 1550)

Quinte rime = *Quinte Rime della signora Laura Terracina detta Phebea nell'Academia de gl'Incogniti* (Venice: Giovan Andrea Valvassori detto Guadagnino, 1552)

Seste rime 1 = *Le seste rime della signora Laura Terracina di Napoli. Nuovamente stampate* (Lucca: Vincenzo Busdraghi, 1558)

Seste rime 2 = *Seste rime de la signora Laura Terracina. Novamente reviste et stampate, con altri nuovi sonetti aggiunti* (Naples: Raymondo Amato, 1560)

Settime rime = *Settime rime sovra tutte le donne vedove di questa nostra città di Napoli titolate e non titolate fatte per la segnora Laura Terracina* (Naples: Mattia Cancer, 1561)

Seconda parte = *La seconda parte de' discorsi sopra le seconde stanze de' canti d'Orlando Furioso, della s. Laura Terracina detta nell'Academia de gl'Incogniti, Febea* (Venice: Giovan Andrea Valvassori detto Guadagnino, 1567)

Nono libro = *Sonetti Al sommo Pontefice Gregorio Decimoterzo, et con sua santita tutti li cardinali, Rime spirituali morte di Principi, et di signori titolati, et non titolati, con altri sonetti a particolari gentil'homini et Donne Conposti Per la signora Laura terracina. Libro Nono* (1577)

Introduction

‘Ottusiamo queste lingue oscure’.¹

Laura Terracina (1519-c.1577) was a consummate product of her age, a poet who embodied the tensions and contradictions which ruled the Italian peninsula in the sixteenth century. Two best-sellers, over forty editions of her works, and a legion of admirers made her quite possibly Cinquecento Italy’s most popular female author, from the lagoons of Venice to the courts of Naples. She was at once an identifiable product of her times, and an atypical, deeply audacious individual unafraid of broadcasting her trenchant voice. Despite her legacy of popular and engaging literature, however, Terracina has been largely neglected by centuries of scholars, relegated to brief biographical entries and the occasional chapter, both by twentieth-century critics and twenty-first-century scholars. The central aim of this dissertation is to open up the field of enquiry into Terracina by exploring the significance of her role as a sixteenth-century female poet. Both what she wrote and for whom she wrote are complex questions which place her at the heart of the literary world, even as she struggled with the challenges faced by all female writers of the era. The intention is that by beginning to map Terracina’s place in the literary landscape, she will finally be afforded the interest due to her.

Laura Terracina was the highest-selling female author in Italy in the sixteenth century: not only was she strikingly prolific, penning eight print works and leaving a ninth in manuscript form prepared for publication, but her two most popular works, the *Rime*

¹ *Discorso*, XXXVII, l. 58. For ease of consultation across different editions, quotations from the *Discorso* and the *Orlando Furioso* will be referenced with canto number and line number, rather than page number.

de la Signora Laura Terracina and the *Discorso sopra tutti li primi canti d'Orlando Furioso*, went through over 20 editions in total by 1600.² Her first published poetry came in 1546, a capitolo in octaves added to the second edition of Ludovico Domenichi's *Rime diverse di molti eccellentissimi auttori*.³ Establishing a clear and complete bibliography of Terracina's works has proved difficult.⁴ Many editions of her various works were published unsystematically across Italy, and are extant in libraries across the world in differing numbers. The *Settime rime* were thought lost in the late nineteenth century.⁵ The manuscript of Terracina's ninth collection appears to have been unknown until the mid-twentieth century.⁶ The tables below lay out Terracina's publication history as so far established.

² The editions of Terracina's works consulted for this dissertation are the *princeps* editions, namely: 1548 *Rime*; 1549 *Rime seconde*; 1549 *in fine* 1550 *Discorso*; 1550 *Quarte rime*; 1552 *Quinte rime*; 1560 *Seste rime*; 1561 *Settime rime*; 1567 *Seconda parte*. Any references to editions other than these will be noted.

³ *Rime diverse di molti eccellentissimi auttori nuovamente raccolte* (Venice: Gabriel Giolito de Ferrari, 1546).

⁴ Virginia Cox, *Women's Writing in Italy 1400-1650* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008), Appendix A, pp. 235-45, and Laura Terracina, *Discorsi sopra le prime stanze de' canti d'Orlando Furioso*, ed. by Rotraud von Kulesa and Daria Perocco (Florence: Franco Cesati Editore, 2017), pp. 343-45 come the closest to establishing a full bibliography, but I have found catalogue entries for editions not listed there.

⁵ Salvatore Bongi, *Annali di Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari da Trino di Monferrato, stampatore in Venezia* (Rome: Presso i principali librai, 1890-1895), p. 455.

⁶ No reference to this work is made in Giolito's *Annali* compiled by Bongi, although he refers to other works by Terracina printed by other publishers.

Solo-authored editions: printed

Date	Title	Publisher	City	Privilege	Reprints (until 1600)	Notes
1548	<i>Rime de la signora Laura Terracina</i>	Gabriele Giolito de Ferrari	Venice	Con privilegio	1549, 1550, 1553, 1554, 1555/6, 1560x2, ⁷ 1565x2	Bongi records a 1547 publication of a 'libretto' by Terracina in Florence, thanks to evidence of an unnamed bookseller's catalogue. ⁸ However, I have found no trace of this, and given the late November dedication of 1548 edition, believe it could have been that the 1548 edition was mislabelled. 1550 and 1553 editions include 'una diceria [d'amore] di Doni'.
1549	<i>Rime seconde della signora Laura Terracina di Napoli. Et di diversi a lei</i>	Lorenzo Torrentino?	Florence	Con Privilegio	Nil	Torrentino is typically listed as publisher, but I have found no evidence for this, including in Torrentino's <i>annali</i> . ⁹ Bongi says it is nameless and suggests Giunti; he also suspects the <i>Seconde rime</i> was suppressed. ¹⁰ Shemek suggests they were commissioned by Leonardo Kurz. ¹¹

⁷ Not listed in Cox, *Writing Women*.

⁸ Bongi, p. 227.

⁹ Domenico Moreni, *Annali della tipografia fiorentina di Lorenzo Torrentino* (Florence: Niccolò Carli, 1811).

¹⁰ Bongi, p. 229.

¹¹ Deanna Shemek, *Ladies Errant: Wayward Women and Social Order in Early Modern Italy* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1998), p. 128.

1549, in fine 1550	<i>Discorso sopra tutti li primi canti d'Orlando Furioso fatti per la signora Laura Terracina; Discorso sopra il principio di tutti i canti d'Orlando Furioso. Fatto per la s. Laura Terracina: detta nell'Accademia degl'Incogniti Febea. Di nuovo con diligenza ristampato et ricorretto.</i>	Gabriele Giolito de Ferrari	Venice	Con Privilegio	1550x2; revised edition 1551, 1554, 1557, 1559, 1560, 1561, 1564x2, 1565, ¹² 1566x2 , ¹³ 1567, 1572, 1573, 1577, 1579, 1581, 1583x2, 1588, 1598	The first edition of the <i>Discorso</i> is dated 1549 at the front of the work, and 1550 at the end of the work; presumably publication dragged into the new year. From 1551, the work bore its revised title.
1550	<i>Quarte rime della signora Laura Terracina. Detta Phebea ne l'Accademia de gl'Incogniti.</i>	Giovan Andrea Valvassori detto Guadagnino	Venice	Con Gratia e Privilegio	1551, 1560	
1552	<i>Quinte Rime della signora Laura Terracina detta Phebea nell'Accademia de gl'Incogniti.</i>	Giovan Andrea Valvassori detto Guadagnino	Venice	Con Gratia e Privilegio	1560	
1558	<i>Le seste rime della signora Laura Terracina di Napoli. Nuovamente stampate.</i>	Vincenzo Busdraghi	Lucca	Not specified	None	
1560	<i>Seste rime de la signora Laura Terracina.</i>	Raymondo Amato	Naples	Not specified	None	

¹² The 1565 Giolito publication was a joint edition of the *Rime* with the *Discorso*.

¹³ Not listed in Terracina, *Discorsi*, pp. 343-34. These are *Rime, con il discorso sopra il principio di tutti i canti d'Orlando furioso* (Venice: Domenico Farri, 1566); *Rime della signora Laura Terracina con il Discorso sopra il principio di tutti i canti d'Orlando Furioso* (Venice: Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari, 1566).

	<i>Novamente reviste et stampate, con altri nuovi sonetti aggiunti.</i>					
1561	<i>Settime rime sovra tutte le donne vedove di questa nostra città di Napoli titolate e non titolate fatte per la signora Laura Terracina.</i>	Mattio Cancer	Naples	Not specified	None	Bongi and Cox give this date as 1560. ¹⁴ Given it only seems to been published in one edition, which is dated 1561 and has a dedication dated the end of that year, 1561 appears the actual date.
1567	<i>La seconda parte de' discorsi sopra le seconde stanze de' canti d'Orlando furioso, della s. Laura Terracina detta nell'Accademia de gl'Incogniti, Febea.</i>	Giovan Andrea Valvassori	Venice	Con privilegio	1584	

Virginia Cox and Axel Erdmann both list a 1558 edition of Terracina's *Quinte rime*, but Mr Erdmann has since confirmed that this edition does not, in fact, exist.¹⁵

Solo-authored editions: manuscript

Year	Title	Holdings	Notes
1577	<i>Sonetti Al sommo Pontefice Gregorio Decimoterzo, et con sua santita tutti li cardinali, Rime spirituali morte di Principi, et di signori tituali, et non titulati, con altri sonetti a particolari gentil'homini et Donne Conposti Per la signora Laura terracina. Libro Nono.</i>	Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze, MS Palatino 229.	Dedicatory letter is signed from Chiaia.

¹⁴ Bongi, p. 455; Cox, *Women's Writing*, p. 238.

¹⁵ Personal communication, 05 February 2017. I would like to thank Mr Erdmann for his swift and useful message.

The majority of Terracina's published work is made up of lyric *rime*, largely encomiastic and celebrative verse, most of which is addressed to notable figures of the day. The *Discorso* and the *Seconda parte* are both extended poems in an *ottava rima* form known as a *trasmutazione*, which systematically integrate lines from Ludovico Ariosto's bestselling *Orlando Furioso* into each stanza.¹⁶

Review of literature

Scholarship on Laura Terracina has not yet fully unpacked her significance for the history of sixteenth-century publishing, and in particular the history of women's writing in that century. Until recently, three monographs, an early twentieth-century essay, assorted bibliographical notices on rare editions, and a *tesi di laurea* made up the critical work on Terracina, supplemented by a number of biographical encyclopaedia entries and shorter references, and subsequently two book chapters.¹⁷ Now that a new edition of the *Discorsi* has been published, which will be invaluable for making her work more accessible to a modern readership, it is to be hoped that the growing wave of interest in the poet will develop further still.

¹⁶ For more on this form, see Rosa Casapullo, 'Contatti metrici fra Spagna e Italia: Laura Terracina e la tecnica della glosa,' in *Atti del XXI congresso internazionale di linguistica e filologia romanza*, ed. by Giovanni Ruffino (Tübingen: Neimeyer, 1998), pp. 18–24 and Terracina, *Discorsi*, pp. 16. For the relationship between the *Discorso* and *Orlando Furioso*, see also Francesco Lucioli, 'Riscrittura come esegesi. Laura Terracina lettrice ed interprete dell'*Orlando Furioso*', *Romanische Studien*, 8 (forthcoming), 151–167. Warm thanks to the author for sharing his unpublished work.

¹⁷ Rossanna di Stefano's *tesi di laurea* 'Ricerche su Laura Terracina, petrarchista napoletana' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Università degli Studi di Roma, Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia, 1974–1975) is cited in Deanna Shemek's chapter, 'Getting a Word in Edgewise', in *Ladies Errant*, pp. 126–57, (p. 230, n. 1).

Traditionally, scholarship on Terracina has focused on the (loosely) biographical, particularly the work of Benedetto Croce and Lina Maroi;¹⁸ while this is useful, it does little to approach Terracina as a poet, and also fails sufficiently to consider her poetry as a key to understanding her socio-literary context. More recent work, such as that of Luigi Montella, is useful in bringing some of her poetry into a modern edition, but once again presents, rather than analyses, her work.¹⁹ Three more recent studies have started to explore Terracina's work in a more actively analytical fashion, questioning her relationships with her source texts and readership. In 'Proving Masculinity Before Women: Laura Terracina and Chiara Matraini Writing on Warfare', Gerry Milligan argues that both Terracina and Chiara Matraini elevate themselves to the role of moral judicator of warfare, mobilizing discourses of masculinity to argue for war on their terms.²⁰ Milligan argues that Terracina, a minor Neapolitan noble, appropriated power for herself by leveraging norms of masculinity and femininity. He usefully contextualises her work in its fraught and volatile political context and reads her convincingly as a clever manipulator of readers' biases. Milligan's analysis is important for beginning to appreciate the complexity of Terracina's work and the nuances of her handling of her chosen subject matter.

¹⁸ Benedetto Croce, 'La casa di una poetessa', in *Storie e leggende napoletane* (Bari: Laterza, 1948), pp. 275–89; Lina Maroi, *Laura Terracina: poetessa napoletana del secolo XVI* (Naples: Francesco Perella, 1913); Angelo Borzelli, *Laura Terracina: poetessa del Cinquecento* (Naples: M. Marzano, 1924).

¹⁹ Luigi Montella, *Una poetessa del Rinascimento: Laura Terracina. Con le Nove rime inedite* (Salerno: Edisud, 1993).

²⁰ Gerry Milligan, 'Proving Masculinity Before Women: Laura Terracina and Chiara Matraini Writing on Warfare,' in *The Poetics of Masculinity in Early Modern Italy and Spain*, ed. by Gerry Milligan and Jane Tylus (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2010), pp. 185–212.

Deanna Shemek, in the chapter 'Getting a Word in Edgewise', similarly foregrounds thematic analysis, but takes a broader overview of Terracina's oeuvre as a whole.²¹ She reads the *Discorso* through the lens of the female author as the mythological Echo, seeing Terracina as appropriating some of Echo's qualities while complete assimilation to the figure is kept at bay.²² She argues compellingly that Terracina experienced fame as a loss of control over her own discourse.²³ While I agree with this to an extent, it is important not to understate Terracina's own (attempts at) influence over her own works, and the personal stamp which she lent her 'brand'.²⁴ Moreover, Shemek suggests that Terracina has a 'lack of star quality', being neither especially eloquent nor innovative.²⁵ I would argue that, on the contrary, it is an indefinable quality that allows her to transcend any limitations within her work itself to become a star in her own time. I would also nuance, in the context of Terracina's work, the affirmation that '[f]or Terracina and her cohort, lyric poetry was not only a massive literary phenomenon [...] it was also a favoured medium for personal communication among individuals'.²⁶ While lyric poetry certainly was used like this, it is well to be wary of reading Terracina's work as personal communication rather than a highly stylised, professionally motivated means of network- and reputation-building. The most glaring example of this might be the *Settime rime*, which Terracina begins by apologising for the fact that a large proportion of her widowed dedicatees have remarried or died. Nonetheless, Shemek's chapter opens up compelling readings of Terracina's work as related to her model, Ludovico Ariosto.

²¹ Shemek, *Ladies Errant*, pp. 126-57.

²² Shemek, *Ladies Errant*, pp. 129-31.

²³ Shemek, *Ladies Errant*, p. 130.

²⁴ For more on this, see Amelia Papworth, 'Pressure to Publish: Laura Terracina and Her Editors', *Early Modern Women: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, 12 (2017), 3-24.

²⁵ Shemek, *Ladies Errant*, p. 127.

²⁶ Shemek, *Ladies Errant*, p. 127.

Shemek also provides a useful introduction to Terracina's work in context with her entry in *Liriche del Cinquecento*. She observes that Terracina's career and works are 'un'efficace specola di osservazione dell'ambiente letterario, sociale e politico della Napoli della Controriforma'.²⁷ She also presents a nuanced picture of Terracina's relationship with her editors: 'la scrittrice si rivela agente e strumento, nel ruolo simultaneo di collaboratrice disponibile e di pedina riluttante'.²⁸ Her brief biographical and bibliographical summaries are very useful.

Most critical interest to date has, understandably, been in the *Discorso*. Rosa Casapullo has helpfully considered Terracina's poetic technique from a formal standpoint, and this remains a very informative resource.²⁹ Caroline Waring provides a brief but illuminating overview of Terracina as protofeminist in her 'Laura Terracina's Feminist Discourse (1549): Answering the *Furioso*'.³⁰ She reads both the *Discorso* and the *Seconda parte* as 'informed with a strong sense of justice as it relates to the female point of view',³¹ correcting the misrepresentation of women and appealing to them to break

²⁷ Deanna Shemek, 'Laura Terracina', in *Liriche del Cinquecento*, ed. by Monica Farnetti and Laura Fortini (Guidonia Montecelio: Iacobellieditore, 2014), pp. 170-98 (p. 170).

²⁸ 'Laura Terracina', in *Liriche del Cinquecento*, ed. by Monica Farnetti and Laura Fortini, p. 171.

²⁹ For details on form, see Rosa Casapullo, 'Contatti metrici fra Spagna e Italia: Laura Terracina e la tecnica della glosa,' in *Atti del XXI congresso internazionale di linguistica e filologia romanza*, ed. by Giovanni Ruffino (Tübingen: Neimeyer, 1998), pp. 18-24.

³⁰ *Laboratorio di Nuova Ricerca. Investigating Gender, Translation and Culture in Italian Studies*, ed. by Monica Boria and Linda Risso (Leicester: Troubadour, 2007), pp. 151-67. See also Caroline Isabel Milvain Waring, 'The Reception of Ariosto's Orlando furioso (1532) by Three Italian Women Writers of the Sixteenth Century' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 2006).

³¹ Waring, 'Laura Terracina's Feminist Discourse', p. 154.

out of their traditional roles. In her view, Terracina opens a space for later, more overtly protofeminist authors such as Moderata Fonte and Lucrezia Marinella, as well as acting as a riposte to male denigrations of women and their intellect.³² Francesco Lucioli, in a forthcoming article, 'Riscrittura come esegesi. Laura Terracina lettrice ed interprete dell'*Orlando furioso*' also considers the relationship between Laura Terracina's work and her source text, seeing the *Discorso* as a double re-reading of the *Furioso* which grants the master work moral legitimacy, 'un esperimento di interpretazione dall'interno del poema ariostesco'.³³ Unlike Waring, however, Lucioli does not believe Terracina to be a protofeminist, seeing her engagement with the *querelle des femmes* as motivated by Ariosto's interest in the theme in 18 of his 46 proems.³⁴

The most comprehensive modern work on Terracina is the first (and overdue) modern edition of the *Discorsi sopra le prime stanze de' canti d'Orlando Furioso*.³⁵ The introduction to the text focuses on Terracina as a reader of Ariosto, comparing her attitude towards the *Furioso* in the first and subsequent editions of both parts of the *Discorso*. Rotraud Von Kulesa and Daria Perocco's focus is textual and embedded in their material, rather than seeking to discern the motivation and attitude of the poet, beyond noting that the 'testo ariostesco della Terracina è incentrata dunque su una attualizzazione "napoletana e personalizzata" del poema che lascia trasparire una visione molto pessimista del mondo in generale e della sua epoca in particolare'.³⁶

³² Waring, 'Laura Terracina's Feminist Discourse', pp. 161-62.

³³ Francesco Lucioli, 'Riscrittura come esegesi. Laura Terracina lettrice ed interprete dell'*Orlando Furioso*' *Romanische Studien*, 8 (forthcoming), 151-167 (p. 165).

³⁴ Lucioli, 'Riscrittura come esegesi', p. 160.

³⁵ Laura Terracina, *Discorsi sopra le prime stanze de' canti d'Orlando Furioso*, ed. by Rotraud von Kulesa and Daria Perocco (Florence: Franco Cesati Editore, 2017).

³⁶ Terracina, *Discorsi*, p. 23.

Brief consideration is made of the editorial context of the work, but the focus is on the textual evolution of the works over various editions. As such, the volume is an effective means of beginning to understand how Terracina used her source, and to some degree the other influences upon her, poetic and social.³⁷

Nonetheless, in almost all the scholarship on Terracina, her work risks disappearing behind the associations which have begun to crowd her name. In the centuries following her death, surprisingly little critical work has been dedicated to her, given the sheer volume of her own writings and her important place in Neapolitan literary culture. Much of the secondary work which has been carried out has suggested not only that Terracina is technically weak, but also attributes overwhelming influence to the male editors and publishers who surrounded her. Angelo Borzelli, in the early twentieth century, stated that 'Marcantonio Passero crea proprio, e quasi dal nulla, Laura Terracina e per un pezzo ne fa una cosa vitale', while she 'si affida in tutto a l'uomo che sa operare'.³⁸ Benedetto Croce, while recognising necessarily that Terracina was prolific, did not judge her as overly skilled; his attitude is that her poetry is an adjunct to her status as a woman: 'la realtà di una piccolo borghese, provvista d'una rispettabile marito, e con pari utilità occupata nei lavori, come ella diceva, "della penna, dell'aco e della rocca"'.³⁹ Luigi Montella also underrates the unusual form and themes of Terracina's work by judging her 'una poetessa poco

³⁷ A review of the edition is forthcoming on *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, as there are some issues with the work, for example from a philological perspective. My thanks to Francesco Lucioli for bringing this to my attention. A collection of selected poetry by Terracina is also forthcoming in the Other Voice series from Toronto University Press: Laura Terracina, *Selected Poetry*, ed. by Amelia Papworth (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies and Iter, forthcoming).

³⁸ Marcantonio Passero. *Libraio nel 500 napoletano* (Naples: Aldo Lubrano, 1941), pp. 10, 13.

³⁹ Croce, *Storie e leggende napoletane*, p. 249.

originale sul piano linguistico', even as he sees her as a 'lucida osservatrice della realtà'.⁴⁰

More recently, Deanna Shemek has suggested that:

As nearly all her critics have been quick to point out, Terracina's writing never approaches that eloquence or innovative distinction of the few great Cinquecento lyricists: her poems are neither original nor technically accomplished. This lack of star quality does not, however, distinguish her from the vast majority of her versifying contemporaries, male or female, for the sixteenth century produced several generations of poetasters.⁴¹

Virginia Cox also notes that 'Far the most prolific and popularly successful female poet of the era, Terracina is also by a long measure the most technically incompetent',⁴² some of her poetry being 'unrefined to the point of ineptitude'.⁴³ She remarks on the 'manifold artistic deficiencies which critics like Croce have denounced with such zeal'.⁴⁴

Why is it that Laura Terracina is so unfamiliar to, and largely unappreciated by, scholars even within the field of early modern women's writing? It is clearly impossible to claim that her writing was too obscure in her own era: women who left

⁴⁰ Montella, p. 25.

⁴¹ Shemek, *Ladies Errant*, p. 127.

⁴² Virginia Cox, *Lyric Poetry by Women of the Italian Renaissance* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013), p. 25.

⁴³ Cox, *Lyric Poetry*, p. 315.

⁴⁴ Cox, *Women's Writing*, p. 101.

a few pages or poems behind them have been better studied.⁴⁵ If there is ‘an unconscious prejudice that sees publication as an index of merit’,⁴⁶ we would expect a huge amount more work on Terracina, especially compared to her contemporaries. On the other hand, it is equally fallacious to claim that Terracina’s name was too renowned, and thus in no need of reclaiming: other successful poets such as Vittoria Colonna have been pulled from relative critical obscurity in the 1980s to be (laurel-) crowned as centrally important authors of the sixteenth century.⁴⁷ Where once Colonna’s work was seen as having a ‘stile convenzionale’,⁴⁸ it is now seen as ‘push[ing] the boundaries of the Petrarchan form in new and path-breaking directions’.⁴⁹

⁴⁵ For example, Giulia Bigolina’s *Urania*, unpublished in her own time, has been published in both Italian and English modern editions (*Urania*, ed. by Valeria Finucci (Rome: Bulzoni, 2002); *Urania*, ed. and trans. by Valeria Finucci (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005)) and has been the subject of a number of articles. The *Other Voice in Early Modern Europe* series of books also includes translations of texts which are unavailable in a modern Italian edition, such as Maddalena Campiglia’s *Flori*, ed. by Virginia Cox and Lisa Sampson, trans. by Virginia Cox (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2004) and Isotta Nogarola’s dramas; a volume of Terracina’s work is only now forthcoming in the series.

⁴⁶ Cox, *Women’s Writing*, p. 88.

⁴⁷ For recent work, see in particular Abigail Brundin, *Vittoria Colonna and the Spiritual Poetics of the Italian Reformation* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 2008); Shannon McHugh, ‘Rethinking Vittoria Colonna: Gender and Desire in the *rime amorose*’, *The Italianist*, 33 (2013), 345-60; *A Companion to Vittoria Colonna*, ed. by Abigail Brundin, Tatiana Crivelli and Maria Serena Sapegno (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2016); *Al crocevia della storia. Poesia, religione e politica in Vittoria Colonna*, ed. by Maria Serena Sapegno (Rome: viella, 2016).

⁴⁸ Benedetto Croce, *Poesia popolare e poesia d’arte: studi sulla poesia italiana dal Tre al Cinquecento*, ed. by Piero Cudini (Naples: Bibliopolis, 1991), p. 381.

⁴⁹ Brundin, Crivelli and Sapegno, p. 5.

I would argue that a comparable reassessment of Terracina's work is due, in which her work is better understood within its own contexts. An approach towards Laura Terracina which sees her only as a creation of the presses is fundamentally flawed and anachronistic, important though the influence of print culture is throughout her career for building her reputation. It places assumptions about 'good poetry' and what is worth reading ahead of the evidence, the poetry itself and the reaction of its first readers. In the twenty-first century, the role of the scholar is surely no longer to designate a priority of study based upon value judgements and past tradition.⁵⁰ New historicism and cultural materialism, from the 1980s onwards, have laid out an approach which allows for the study of material within a historical, politicised framework. This study of Terracina does not seek to be slavishly theoretical, but does seek to understand her work within the network of forces which produced it.⁵¹ The approach could be understood as 'applied literary history'. The texts of the sixteenth century cannot be read in isolation, or in relation to a selected set of values from the period in which they were written, such as their adherence to a Tuscan linguistic standard. Instead, to understand them to the full, it is imperative not only to situate texts within their socio-historical context factually, but to weave them back into the literary tapestry whence they came. Thus, Laura Terracina is overdue our attention: whatever judgements we might make of her poetry (many of which are then proven to be misguided when her poetry is understood in context and its sources identified),

⁵⁰ F.R. Leavis was an important proponent of an approach driven by value judgements in the twentieth century, suggesting that 'the less important poets bear to tradition an illustrative relation, and the more important bear to it the more interesting kinds of relation', *Revaluation. Tradition & Development in English Poetry* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1949), p. 3.

⁵¹ For a brief introduction to new historicism and cultural materialism, and a bibliography, see Peter Barry, 'New historicism and cultural materialism', in *Beginning Theory. An Introduction to Literary and Cultural Theory*, 3rd edn (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2009), p. 166-84.

she was hugely popular, quite conceivably the best-selling female author of sixteenth-century Europe. Her influence spread throughout Italy and beyond.⁵² For too long, Laura Terracina has been marginalised and her exciting dynamism as an author underrated.

Terracina: a short biography

Despite her fame in her own day, biographical details on Terracina are scarce. She was a member of the Bacio-Terracina family, originally a noble family from Brescia, who moved to Rome in the thirteenth century,⁵³ then further south to Naples fleeing papal assaults against noble families.⁵⁴ Naples had been under Spanish control since 1503, and the Terracina family's Spanish sympathies gave them a respectable position in the city, although they remained 'fuori piazza', that is, not a member of the ruling Seggi families and thus not politically represented as a noble family.⁵⁵ Terracina's uncle Domenico was the Eletto del popolo, the political representative of the people of Naples (compared to six Eletti representing the five noble Seggi).⁵⁶ Numerous

⁵² Traces of her presence in France, Great Britain and Spain will be discussed in chapter six below.

⁵³ Maroi, p. 27.

⁵⁴ Shemek, 'Laura Terracina', in *Liriche del Cinquecento*, ed. by Monica Farnetti and Laura Fortini, p. 171.

⁵⁵ Giovanni Muto, 'Interessi cetuali e rappresentanza politica: I "seggi" e il patriziato napoletano nella prima metà del Cinquecento', in *L'Italia di Carlo V: Guerra, religione e politica nel primo Cinquecento*, ed. by Francesca Cantù and Maria Antonietta Visceglia (Rome: Viella, 2003), pp. 615-37 (p. 615).

⁵⁶ Maroi, p. 30.

members of the Terracina family had held this position before him throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.⁵⁷

Laura Terracina's father, Paolo,⁵⁸ married one Diana Anfora of Sorrento, and they had four children: Laura, Dianora,⁵⁹ Giacomo and Mariano.⁶⁰ Paolo obtained baronial jurisdiction over lands near Lecce from Ferdinando il Cattolico in 1507; one of Terracina's brothers, Mariano, became an abbot, while another, Giacomo, held the post of *giustiziere* of Naples from 1577.⁶¹ In 1535 Paolo signed over land and buildings to Giacomo on the occasion of his son's marriage, and Laura Terracina spent her life there with her brother's family;⁶² the dedications to her printed works are signed from Piaggia, in Chiaia, near Naples.⁶³ Terracina was born, presumably there, in 1519,⁶⁴ and

⁵⁷ Croce, *Storie e leggende napoletane*, p.239; G.B. Di Crollanza, *Dizionario storico-blasonico delle famiglie nobili e notabili italiane, estinte e fiorenti* (Pisa: Direzione del Giornale Araldico, 1886), p. 77.

⁵⁸ Although Terracina claims that her father lived 'cento e diece anni' (*Nono libro*, MS Palatino 229, fols 66^v-67^r, sonnet number 165), this seems improbable, and may have been a case of poetic exaggeration.

⁵⁹ E. Ricca (*La nobiltà del Regno delle Due Sicilie* (Naples: unknown, 1859-1879), p. 653, names Terracina's sister as Eleanora, but her poetry names her sister as Dianora (see, for example Terracina, *Rime*, p. 25).

⁶⁰ Ricca, p. 653.

⁶¹ Croce, *Storie e leggende napoletane*, p. 239.

⁶² The document entrusting the land to Giacomo describes 'maxaria ad Chiaia, consistente in la Torre et tutte le stantie et hedifitii gionta con essa torre' and a 'giardino murato juxta dicte casa da la banda de la torre de Sancto Severino', Croce, *Storie e leggende napoletane*, p. 236.

⁶³ The site of the house has now been absorbed by the city; no external traces of the sixteenth-century dwelling remain.

⁶⁴ In her *Seste rime* 1, Terracina writes 'avend'io trentadue anni / a mille e cinquecento e cinquanta uno' (p. 168). There has been some confusion over her date of birth, with some

received a modest education.⁶⁵ She refers to this in her poetry, for example in the *Nono libro* in which she describes herself 'di pover seme'⁶⁶ although '[f]u già di nobiltà mia stirpe antica'.⁶⁷ She is frequently deprecatory about her own education and learning, but it is difficult to know whether this was merely an appropriate pose of feminine humility; see, for example, in the 1548 *Rime*, in which she says that 'mi tengo ignorante'.⁶⁸

Winds of change were blowing through Italy, however, social as well as religious. Men of lowly birth such as Pietro Aretino had commanded the attention of princes and emperors;⁶⁹ men of similar humble circumstances such as Lodovico Dolce and Ludovico Domenichi had risen to effectively control the most powerful new form of media, print, which was accessible to those with almost any disposable income at all.⁷⁰ Montella claims that Terracina became a member of the *Accademia degli Incogniti* at the age of 26, which assumes entry to the academy in 1545; given the foundation date of

claiming it as 1510 (Giulio Ferroni, and Amedeo Quondam, *La locuzione artificiosa. Teoria ed esperienza della lirica a Napoli nell'età del manierismo* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1973), p. 329) and some 1517 (Montella, p. 9).

⁶⁵ Shemek, 'Laura Terracina', in *Liriche del Cinquecento*, ed. by Monica Farnetti and Laura Fortini, p. 172.

⁶⁶ Montella, p. 94.

⁶⁷ *Seste rime* 2, no page number, poem number 92.

⁶⁸ *Rime*, p. 8^r. Terracina's *Rime*, *Quarte rime* and *Quinte rime* have pagination with recto and verso (as more typically found in manuscripts); page numbers in footnotes will reflect this for ease of consultation.

⁶⁹ On Aretino's extraordinary career, see Raymond B. Waddington, *Pietro Aretino: Subverting the System in Renaissance Italy* (Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate, 2013).

⁷⁰ See Brian Richardson, 'The editor triumphant: editing in Venice, 1546-1560', in *Print Culture in Renaissance Italy. The Editor and the Vernacular Text, 1470-1600* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 109-26.

the Incogniti was actually 1546, the age of 27 seems more likely. Terracina adopted the pseudonym Febea, the name given to Diana as the carrier of the light of the moon.⁷¹ While we have little evidence of Terracina's relationship with her mother, it is not inconceivable that she chose the name in homage to her mother Diana.⁷² Her first work, the *Rime*, was published in 1548, shortly following her acceptance into the Academy.

Although some critics claim an 'intesa amorosa' between Terracina and various men of her age, from poets to cardinals, the evidence as presented remains unconvincing and has been insufficiently contextualised in the Petrarchan amorous language of the day.⁷³ I find no compelling evidence of this in the poetry or elsewhere, and it seems unlikely given Terracina's awareness of her precarious social position, and that in her own poetry she declares her intention to avoid amorous dalliance before marriage.⁷⁴

⁷¹ Montella, p. 12.

⁷² In the *Nono libro*, for example, Terracina dedicates a poem to Isabella, Marchesana di Caserta. She claims her mother was 'Baiola' to Isabella, and attributes Isabella's graces to her, which suggests a degree of respect and affection for her mother (MS Palatino 229, fol. 101^r).

⁷³ See Irma Jaffe, *Shining Eyes, Cruel Fortune: The Lives and Loves of Italian Renaissance Women Poets* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2002); Jaffe bases some of her claims on Borzelli, *Laura Terracina*. She names, among Terracina's (would-be) lovers, priest Don Desiderio Cavalcabò, bishop Diomede Carafa, Luigi Tansillo, Giovan Vincenzo Belprato Count of Anversa, and Giovan Alfonso Mantegna di Maida. It seems improbable that Terracina would have publicly, if enigmatically, revealed her loss of virginity to Maida in her written works, as Jaffe proposes (pp. 177-78); likewise, speculation that Terracina was not a virgin at the time of her marriage seems prurient and unfounded (p. 180).

⁷⁴ See *Rime*, p. 16^v, and the discussion in Chapter 1 of this thesis.

Terracina probably married in her thirties, or maybe even in her forties: in her poetry published between 1549 and 1560, one ‘signor Polidoro’ – a relative of Terracina – begins to appear relatively frequently, but does not yet seem presented as a husband.⁷⁵ Later poetry, such as a group of sonnets in the *Seste rime* 1,⁷⁶ written ‘Per il Signor Polidoro Terracina’, leave the reader in no doubt that by this time they were married – such a public declaration of intimacy would have been unthinkable otherwise for a woman of Terracina’s respectable social standing. The relationship does not seem to have always run smoothly: in the *Nono libro*, Terracina protests against her husband’s irrational jealousy, asking ‘S’io non sono stata et né sarrò d’altrui / A che predate voi tanto dolore[?]’.⁷⁷

Perhaps it was rumours of jealousy that inspired Traiano Boccalini to write a ‘scandalous’ story about Terracina, for overweening jealousy provokes Terracina’s husband to kill her in Boccalini’s work the *Ragguagli di Parnaso*.⁷⁸ In this improbable tale, the ‘leggiadrissima signora’ Terracina is admitted into Parnassus and judges

⁷⁵ Croce, *Storie e leggende napoletane*, pp. 239-40. In his *Ragguagli di Parnaso*, Boccalini included a sketch about Terracina marrying the Italian poet Francesco Mauro, and receiving an order of the garter from Edward I of England, which some critics have mistakenly taken as fact (Traiano Boccalini, *Ragguagli di Parnaso e scritti minori*, ed. by Luigi Firpo (Bari: Gius. Laterza & Figli, 1948), pp. 146-47, sketch 35 of volume 2). Even the most cursory knowledge of the dates involved shows the impossibility of the occurrence, its unlikeliness aside. For more, see Domenico Antonio Parrino, *Teatro eroico e politico de’ governi de’ Vicere del Regno di Napoli dal tempo del re Ferdinando il Cattolico Fin’all anno 1683* (Naples: Francesco Ricciardo, 1730), p. 662.

⁷⁶ See pp. 100-103.

⁷⁷ MS Palatino 229, fol. 84r.

⁷⁸ First published Venice: Pietro Farri, 1612-1613. Edition consulted: Traiano Boccalini, *Ragguagli di Parnaso e scritti minori*, ed. by Luigi Firpo (Bari: Gius. Laterza & Figli, 1948). The story involving Terracina is vol. II, sketch 35.

between her two suitors, Francesco Maria Molza and Francesco Mauro, by examining their poetry and making a decision when she had ‘con esattissima diligenza piú volte [...] rilette e ben considerate’ the verse offerings. Terracina brings a dowry of ‘mille e cinquecento ottave in contanti, senza l’arredo ricchissimo di un’infinitá grande di madrigali, sonetti e canzoni’. When Mauro takes offence at Terracina wearing a garter given to her by Edward VI of England as a sign of devotion, he flies into a rage despite her protestations of innocence, and ‘cacciò mano ad un verso proibito di sei sillabe che portava allato, col quale molte volte le passò la gola e l’uccise’.⁷⁹ It is a telling sign of Terracina’s long-lasting fame that a story could be based around her several decades after her death.

As far as can be established, Terracina did not have children: her work makes no mention of them.⁸⁰ Between 1570 and 1572 Terracina left Naples for the first time and went to Rome, at the time of the conclave which elected Pope Gregory XIII.⁸¹ This

⁷⁹ Boccalini, *Ragguagli di Parnaso*, pp. 146-47.

⁸⁰ Cox observes the high number of prominent early modern women writers who remained childless when married, or had only one or two children, citing it as a greater influence upon literary output than marriage itself (*The Prodigious Muse: Women’s Writing in Counter-Reformation Italy* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011), p. 16).

⁸¹ Croce (*Storie e leggende napoletane*, p. 247) states that Terracina went to Rome in 1572, while Deanna Shemek (‘Laura Terracina’, in *Liriche del Cinquecento*, ed. by Farnetti and Fortini, p. 177) gives the trip dates as 1570-1572, as does the Treccani *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* (entry for ‘BACIO TERRACINA, Laura, by Giulio Reichenbach, <<http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/ricerca/Laura-Bacio-Terracina/>>, [accessed 03 March 2016]. Pope Gregory XIII was elected between the 12 and 13 May 1572 (*Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* entry on Gregory XIII, <<http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/gregorio-xiii-papa/>> [accessed 03 March 2016])). The primary evidence cited for this trip is a poem taken from the *Nono libro*, in which Terracina states ‘Mi son condotta qui, Monsignor mio, / Sol per veder del mondo anco io un poco’ (*Nono libro*, MS Palatino 229, fol. 18, cited in Croce, ‘La casa di una

doubtless would have provided some if not all of the inspiration for the *Nono libro*, the poems of which are dedicated to men of the cloth, the collection as a whole being dedicated to Pope Gregory XIII.⁸²

The faces of Terracina

Before beginning to analyse the textual evidence of who Laura Terracina was, in the face of conflicting pressures and contradictory critical assessments, I would like to start by introducing Terracina in the fashion her first readers would have met her: through the medium of a portrait. This portrait not only allows us to meet Terracina – or the ‘brand’ of Terracina – as her contemporaries would have done, within the opening pages of a collection of her verses, it also marks the two sides of her reception: her fame and recognisability in her own day, compared to her relative historical and critical erasure.

poetessa’, *Napoli nobilissima. Rivista di topografia ed arte napoletana*, X (1901), 129-38 (p. 137)). It is unclear why 1570 is then chosen as the starting point for this trip.

⁸² Montella, p. 58.



Enea Vico, Laura Terracina. Fitzwilliam Museum Object Number P.6119-R.

© The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

This elegant engraving was commissioned by the intellectual Anton Francesco Doni (1513-1574) from Enea Vico for his *Le medaglie del Doni* in 1550, one of several images which purport to be of Terracina.⁸³ We have no extant portraits which can be confirmed definitively as portraying the poet, despite the poetry addressed to her extolling her Petrarchan beauty. Instead, we have a series of images which profess to be of the author: that above, and a series of others which work as frontispieces to open various editions of Terracina's collections of poetry.⁸⁴ In general, these portraits show a high degree of resemblance to one another: it seems likely that one master engraving was used as the model from which others were made. If we look at the two earliest portraits labelled with Terracina's name, that by Vico and that which appears in the 1548 *Rime*,⁸⁵ we can surmise that it is one of these two, and arguably most likely the Vico, as we know Doni had been preparing his collection of portraits for some time.⁸⁶ The image of Terracina was one of a set of nine portrait engravings which eventually would have formed an illustrated treatise, and the first set of engravings of contemporary figures.⁸⁷ Doni had a plan to create four books of medals – gold, silver,

⁸³ My thanks to Dr Mary Laven for her advice on identifying woodcuts and engravings.

⁸⁴ Including, but not limited to: *Rime* (Giolito, 1548), *Rime seconde* (Torrentino, 1549), *Quarte rime* (Valvassori, 1550), *Quinte rime* (Valvassori, 1552), *Seste rime 1* (Busdraghi, 1558), the Farri editions of the *Discorso* published throughout the 1560s, *Settime rime* (Cancer, 1561), the *Seconda parte* (Valvassori, 1567 and 1584). Giuseppina Zappella notes that Giolito and Torrentino were publishers particularly inclined towards including author portraits (Giuseppina Zappella, *Il ritratto nel libro italiano del Cinquecento* (Milan: Editrice bibliografica, 1988), p. 12).

⁸⁵ It is also used in the *Settime rime*, which is interesting given that the work was published in Naples, far from Venice. This suggests how widely Vico's portrait of Terracina was circulating.

⁸⁶ Wendy Thompson, 'Antonfrancesco Doni's "Medaglie"', *Print Quarterly*, 24 (2007), 223-38 (p. 223).

⁸⁷ Thompson, p. 223.

copper and false – which would include at least 80 portrait prints.⁸⁸ Some of the portraits were to have been modelled on medals, three have unknown models, and four are based on graphic sources.⁸⁹ Integral to Doni's plan was also the reverse of the medals, for which he intended to invent devices, rather than display personal emblems already in use by the person depicted.⁹⁰ As for the division into categories of gold, silver, bronze and false, Doni himself offered an explanation in a letter from 1547:

In the first is described the nobility and the virtue of some of the citizens, and this is of gold. The second deals with [...] those who are true citizens granted nobility for their good qualities, and these are of silver. In the third is discussed those of plebeian birth who have made themselves gentlemen [...] and these are of brass [i.e. bronze]. The last contains the evil, the duplicitous, the traitors, and the scoundrels; these are false.⁹¹

Those categorised as gold – Christ and Henry II – are the most noble of individuals; those of silver – Ariosto, Bembo, Morosini and Terracina – are members of the minor nobility. Doni and Gelli represent the bronze, while Domenichi is 'd'archimia', 'of alchemy'. Already, this is suggestive of the esteem in which Terracina was held by her contemporaries, and how they would have approached her work, rather differently from how scholars have considered her recently.

⁸⁸ Thompson, p. 224.

⁸⁹ Thompson, p. 229. The four based on graphic sources are Gelli, Doni himself, Ariosto and Henry II.

⁹⁰ Thompson, p. 229.

⁹¹ Thompson, p. 231.

These portraits were published in booklets in 1550 by Giolito, in two editions.⁹² Each portrait is dedicated to a specific individual, and the portrait of Terracina is dedicated to Marcantonio Passero, an indication of the way bookseller Marcantonio Passero and Terracina were linked in the public imagination.⁹³ The continuation of this project is shown by a small, vellum-bound volume in the Biblioteca Palatina in Parma.⁹⁴ This contains the nine aforementioned *Medaglie del Doni*, but also a series of literary-themed portraits, including 'Vittoria Colonna' dedicated to Dianora Sanseverina. Another version of this text also includes a portrait of 'Laura del Petrarca' dedicated to Terracina.⁹⁵

The portrait itself of Terracina recalls the contemporaneous portraits of the poet which were beginning to appear in books of her verse. She appears in gracious profile, particularly young and fresh-faced, with round cheeks and bright, inquiring eyes. Her nose is a little snub, her lips are full, a typical Petrarchan feature, and she has a high forehead. Her hair is twisted at the front and plaited around a net at the back, with a couple of loose tendrils. Her chemise is modest, but paired with a delicately pretty bodice.

All except one of these portraits (that found in the *Quarte rime*, in which the sitter also wears a different cut of dress and hairstyle) are clearly labelled with Terracina's name somewhere in the frame. It seems improbable, however, that this picture portrays the

⁹² The major difference is that the second edition of the *Medaglie* omits the portrait, sonnets and praise of Ludovico Domenichi found in the first edition. Only one copy remains today of the first edition, suggesting the falling out between Doni and Domenichi led to a hasty reprint (Thompson, p. 231-32).

⁹³ The relationship between Terracina and Passero will be discussed at length in chapter two.

⁹⁴ Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, MS Col. H. I.39.

⁹⁵ Thompson, pp. 234-36.

historical Laura Terracina. The poet lived hundreds of miles from where these engravings were made in Venice, and we know that publishers would minimise costs by reusing engravings or woodcuts wherever possible.⁹⁶ In the case of Vico's portrait, we know that four of the nine medals are based on graphic sources, two on medals, and three are of unknown provenance – it seems scarcely plausible that Terracina's portrait would have been done from life. Indeed, it was rare for any author portrait to be a true portrait as we understand it now: 'il loro è un tentativo di avvicinamento più spirituale che fisico al personaggio, si adegua perciò anche al carattere del libro e all'intento particolare dell'editore.'⁹⁷ Nonetheless, even if these portraits are not, in fact, of the author, the question remains: why were they labelled as of Terracina, and placed at the front of her works?

There was limited precedent for the works of female authors opening with a supposed graphic representation of the author.⁹⁸ It would appear that Terracina is the first female poet in Italy with a solo-authored collection of poetry which opens with a portrait labelled as of her. In all its particulars, the young woman pictured fits a Petrarchan ideal: pale, blonde, with soft, round features and prettily knotted hair, with a few strands escaping behind. Even if this image is not of Terracina, it does give us important information on how Giolito wanted to market Terracina's work, seemingly with a stable image of the author.

Opening the work with this picture creates in the mind of the reader, then and now, an image of the author as a wealthy and attractive young woman. Her clothing is modest, 'austero', but lavish in its use of fabric,⁹⁹ while the frame around the picture

⁹⁶ Zappella, *Il ritratto*, p. 11.

⁹⁷ Zappella, *Il ritratto*, p. 8.

⁹⁸ Zappella, *Il ritratto*, pp. 68-9.

⁹⁹ For more on the clothing of female author portraits, see Zappella, *Il ritratto*, pp. 194-95.

is particularly ornate.¹⁰⁰ Curlicues, grotesques, and swags of material create a sense of richness and exclusivity 'adeguato al personaggio femminile il cui nome compare in basso',¹⁰¹ foreshadowing too the world of lofty social connections which Terracina's work seeks to convey. It is a means of personalising the author to a mass readership, who in turn might have been intrigued by this promised glimpse into the mind of a female poet. A faux-intimate connection is created, exemplary but not intimidating.

It is notable that the stability of the image seems to be of greater importance than its representative nature. I have already asserted that this image is highly unlikely to be of Terracina herself, and no attempts are made to 'update' the image over the several decades it is employed. She remains young, almost girlish. This is unsurprising given that '[l]a verosimiglianza del ritratto passa in second'ordine rispetto all'idea che il tipografo vuole rappresentare dell'opera e del suo personaggio'.¹⁰² Publishers wanted their public to feel they were buying a known product, that once the public image of Terracina had been circulated the brand had to be maintained (this in the face of Terracina's own poetry, which is open about the damage wrought by time physically and emotionally). It has certainly been argued that images (whether painted portraits or frontispiece engravings and woodcuts) of Vittoria Colonna were produced with a particular set of intentions in mind, which in turn leads to differences in imagery and portrayal.¹⁰³ It seems highly probable that images of Terracina were likewise produced with a particular end in mind.

¹⁰⁰ Zappella notes that the frame of a portrait often reflects the richness of an edition (*Il ritratto*, p. 137).

¹⁰¹ Zappella, *Il ritratto*, p. 152.

¹⁰² Zappella, *Il ritratto*, p. 270.

¹⁰³ Gaudenz Freuler, 'Vittoria Colonna: The Pictorial Evidence', in *A Companion to Vittoria Colonna*, ed. by Brundin, Crivelli and Sapegno, pp. 237-69 (p. 269).

Furthermore, I would suggest that as the sixteenth century progressed, the classicizing and stable aspects of author portraiture for women diminished in importance; as the vernacular grew in prestige, putative author portraits became more 'personalised'. In the 1530s, we find the Cinquecento's leading female author Vittoria Colonna portrayed in a fashion which places emphasis upon her moral qualities over an ostensibly personal portrait. Notably, two editions of Colonna's poetry bear an image which the reader could reasonably be assumed to elide with the author, although not labelled explicitly as such.¹⁰⁴ They show an elderly nun (although Colonna never took vows) kneeling in prayer in her cell. Clearly the reader is meant to identify this image with the moral perfection of the author of the work, meaning that the iconography of the work supports its spiritual drive.¹⁰⁵ Virginia Cox has also helpfully explored the portrayal of Colonna in the typically Renaissance medium of medals, and how this functioned as a means of establishing and perpetuating Colonna's exemplary status.¹⁰⁶ In these medals, Colonna is portrayed *all'antica*, a timeless exemplum of womanhood.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁴ Other editions of Colonna's work bore suitably devout imagery, such as the deposition from the Cross found in *Rime de la diva Vettoria Colo[n]a de Pescara inclita marchesana* (Venice: Giovanni Andrea Vavassore detto Guadagnino & Florio fratello, 1542). The editions bearing images are the *Rime della diva Vettoria [sic] Colonna... aggiuntovi XXIII soneti spirituali* (Venice: per Comin da Trino, ad instantia de Nicolo d'Aristotile detto Zoppino, 1540) and *Rime della diva Vettoria [sic] Colonna ... novamente aggiuntovi XXIII soneti spirituali* (Venice: Giovanni Andrea e Florio Valvassori, 1542).

¹⁰⁵ Tatiana Crivelli, 'The Print Tradition of Vittoria Colonna's *Rime*', in *A Companion to Vittoria Colonna*, ed. by Brundin, Crivelli and Sapegno, pp. 69-139 (p. 104).

¹⁰⁶ 'The Exemplary Vittoria Colonna' in *A Companion to Vittoria Colonna*, ed. by Brundin, Crivelli and Sapegno, pp. 467-501.

¹⁰⁷ Cox, 'The Exemplary Vittoria Colonna', in *A Companion to Vittoria Colonna*, ed. by Brundin, Crivelli and Sapegno, p. 479.

The way in which Terracina is depicted in her author portrait shows clear affinities with this classicizing image. She is in profile, with a Roman nose and her hair caught in a net with a few tendrils floating on an invisible breeze.¹⁰⁸ This noble image is at odds with the rather less elevated conception of Terracina which recent scholars have perpetuated. Just a few years later Terracina's contemporary Chiara Matraini is also portrayed in profile, but in less idealised fashion. A picture labelled as Chiara Matraini decorates the frontispiece of the poet's 1555 *Rime e prose* and circumstantially, one could believe this is based on life.¹⁰⁹ The author would have been around forty, as the women in the portrait is, and she shows few Petrarchan charms (a high forehead aside). The publisher of the volume, Vincenzo Busdraghi, would likely have known Matraini, as they were both important cultural figures in the town of Lucca. This 1555 portrait is also a plausible precursor to the engraving which was made to accompany the *Seven Penitential Psalms*.¹¹⁰ This shows a woman of around 70 (as Matraini was), more modestly dressed now with a high ruff and bonnet. The three-quarter profile, however, humanises the image, in contrast to the classicizing quality of the earlier profile.

It is notable that both of these portraits of Matraini bear little ornamentation, just a plain frame in which is printed 'Chiara Matraini' or 'Chiara Matraini Gentildonna

¹⁰⁸ See Cox, 'The Exemplary Vittoria Colonna' (in *A Companion to Vittoria Colonna*, ed. by Brundin, Crivelli and Sapegno, pp. 481-83), on Colonna's similar hairstyle.

¹⁰⁹ *Rime et prose di madonna Chiara Matraini gentildonna lucchese* (Lucca: Busdraghi, 1555).

¹¹⁰ *Considerationi sopra i sette salmi pentitentili del gran re, e profeta Davit* (Lucca: Vincenzo Busdraghi, 1586). Rabitti simply refers to this as a portrait of Matraini (Chiara Matraini, *Selected Poetry and Prose: A Bilingual Edition*, ed. and trans. by Elaine Maclachlan, with an introduction by Giovanna Rabitti (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2007), p. 126).

Lucchese'. A further 'author portrait' of Matraini was produced for her *Considerationi sopra i sette salmi penitentiali del gran re, e profeta David*, this one far from individualised, of a devout woman praying before a crucifix.¹¹¹ I suggest that as Matraini's work, especially as the century progressed, was of a notably more spiritual direction than that of Terracina, the publisher chose a more pared-down and pious representation of the author.

Such a hypothesis is supported by the author portrait of courtesan and poet Veronica Franco produced for her 1575 *Terze rime* but never used.¹¹² Franco is lavishly dressed, her hair ornately coiffed, and most strikingly she makes direct eye contact with the viewer. Her audacious, provocative look is of a piece with her daring poetry, and ambiguous status as a courtesan more broadly. Importantly, the frame around her is also unabashedly ornate. Her image is within an architectural portico supported by caryatids, decorated with an urn, laurels, grotesques, and a hand holding a flaming brand. The decadence of her poetry and lifestyle is reflected in the frame, just as the pious Matraini's portrait is knowingly unadorned.

At the very end of the sixteenth century, a portrait of Moderata Fonte was included in the posthumous publication of her *Il merito delle donne*, published by Domenico Imberti in 1600.¹¹³ The relatively plain image follows the title page and faces the first page of the biography of Fonte which opens the volume. Unsurprisingly, the portrait shows the most visual resemblance to Franco: both rich Venetian women wear similar clothing, with a ruff behind the neck and a low neckline in front, and a pearl choker.

¹¹¹ Matraini, *Considerationi sopra i sette salmi*, no page number.

¹¹² Veronica Franco, *Poems and Selected Letters*, ed. and trans. by Ann Rosalind Jones and Margaret F. Rosenthal (Chicago and London: Chicago University Press, 1998), p. 49.

¹¹³ Fonte died in 1592. *Il merito delle donne* (Venice: Domenico Imberti, 1600) was prefaced by a *Life* of Fonte written by her friend and uncle by marriage Giovanni Niccolò Doglioni.

Moreover, they sport a similar hairstyle, with hair piled into a lower or higher point either side of the forehead. One can see where the Venetian authorities' fears about the confusion between 'respectable' women and courtesans came from.¹¹⁴ Notably, Fonte does not maintain the regal distance of Terracina or Matraini at midcentury. A more 'personal' connection with the reader is established through her gaze, which like Franco's frankly meets that of the reader. Unlike Franco's portrait, however, Fonte's is marked by a focus on learning rather than ornamentation: there is no frame to the portrait, she wears a discreet laurel crown, and the label for the depiction is in Latin: 'vera moderatæ fontis effigies, ætatis suæ anno XXXIII'. The truth claim of this very interesting. As Fonte died aged 37,¹¹⁵ the image would have been likeness of the author 13 years prior by the time it was published. Given the improbability that an unused woodcut or engraving of Fonte had been made during her life, if we accept the truth of this claim then this portrait is presumably based upon a (lost) portrait of Fonte. The other possibility, of course, is that this is not in fact a 'true likeness' of Fonte, and is instead merely claimed to be so by the publisher. This would suggest the importance publishers placed on creating the 'personal' relationship between the reader and author. Especially for a text as potentially controversial as *Il merito delle donne*, one imagines public interest in this respectable Venetian woman who wrote: as Virginia Cox makes clear, most preceding Venetian female writers could not boast such respectability (Lucrezia Marinella, who published in the first years of the seventeenth century, is the other clear exception to this).¹¹⁶

¹¹⁴ Margaret Rosenthal, *The Honest Courtesan: Veronica Franco, Citizen, and Writer in Sixteenth-Century Venice* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1993), pp. 67-8.

¹¹⁵ Fonte, *The Worth of Women: Wherein Is Clearly Revealed Their Nobility and Their Superiority to Men*, ed. by Virginia Cox (London: University of Chicago Press, 1997), p. 2.

¹¹⁶ Fonte, *The Worth of Women*, pp. 3-4.

It is worth for a moment considering those women whose works do not bear author portraits. For instance, the work of comparable contemporaries Tullia d'Aragona,¹¹⁷ Laura Battiferra,¹¹⁸ and Gaspara Stampa do not bear putative author portraits; this might be because they did not have the support, and thus resources of a major publishing house. It is perhaps surprising that Terracina's work does have an author image given that Tullia d'Aragona's 1547 *Rime*, published by Giolito, do not bear an image of the supposedly attractive courtesan. One hypothesis could be that Giolito was already in possession of Vico's engraving of Terracina, which he would go on to publish for Doni in 1548. He therefore had a high-quality engraving at hand which could be easily copied, and thus the image of the young Terracina would be uniform across multiple works. This is furthermore suggestive of how Terracina and her work were professionally and slickly marketed to maximise public interest not only in the poet's work, but in the woman herself, feeding into a virtuous loop given the highly encomiastic and self-referentially social nature of her verse.

Terracina's author portraits help us to understand the way in which publishers marketed the works of women in the sixteenth century, and the psychological sympathy which they wished to develop in the reader. Through an author portrait, an editor or publisher established a certain image of the author (modest, daring, rich, young, pious, and so on) which would then provide a lens through which the work could, or would, be read. As the analysis of this dissertation unfolds, it is useful, and sometimes surprising, to hold two ideas in mind: on the one side, a hugely successful and sometimes controversial poet; on the other, her supposedly youthful, wide-eyed contemporary portrayal.

¹¹⁷ There is a portrait of Tullia d'Aragona as Salome by Moretto da Brescia (c.1537, Tosio Martinengo Gallery).

¹¹⁸ Although there is a beautiful Bronzino portrait of Battiferra (c.1560, Palazzo Vecchio, Florence).

Overview of dissertation

The critical attention that Terracina has thus far received has been centred on the *Discorso* (and to a lesser extent, the *Seconda parte*), as both thematically and stylistically these works include some of the more controversial aspects of her thought. Recently, it has been these texts which have caught the eye of scholars and have begun to receive some critical interest. While this attention to the *Discorso* and *Seconda parte* is exciting, the occasional poetry which makes up the bulk of Terracina's oeuvre is equally important for understanding her status and self-promotion as a poet. As such, this dissertation will seek to strike a balance between these two sides to Terracina's work. It will turn to the *Discorso* and the *Seconda parte* when they help us to understand Terracina as an author and literary actor in a contested cultural space, while seeking to take a broader overview of her oeuvre, which will help to place her work as a whole within the cultural history of sixteenth-century Italy, and stimulate further interest in more specific aspects of her output.

In this dissertation, given the limited amount of literature on Terracina, the poet will be introduced in the context of the milieu in which she lived and worked. In turn, it will look at how some of the major issues which confronted her society were explored through her poetry. The project falls into two major sections, a section on the broad context in which she wrote, and a second section which will focus on aspects of the poetry itself presented within this socio-cultural environment.

Chapter one will begin by positioning Terracina as a product of the city in which she lived and worked her whole life, Naples. It will look at her family's political situation, as well as her status as a member of the Academy of the Incogniti, before proposing a new framing of Terracina as an urban woman who developed her own coterie. Chapter two will consider the mechanics of Terracina as an author who exploited the

mass medium of print. It will focus on how she came to be published, and her close collaboration throughout with male agents and editors. From this analysis, it will propose a greater attribution of agency to Terracina than has thus far been allowed, seeing her as an important figure in the process of her works reaching the hands of readers. The third chapter will look at how the printed book itself functioned as a social tool for Terracina, allowing her to gain social and literary capital amongst her readers. It is argued that by tactical use of dedications and use of the technique of the 'choral anthology', the poet deftly advanced her own reputation.

The second section of the dissertation will look at two broad thematic strands within Terracina's poetry, political verse and religious verse, seeing these as particularly useful ways to trace her socio-literary engagement. Chapter four will focus on her political verse, specifically poetry which discusses the problems of warfare and the politico-religious turmoil across Europe and how it impacted upon civilian populations. Finally, the fifth chapter will look at the religious dimension to Terracina's work, both that labelled 'spiritual' and the relationship between her spiritual and secular lyric. Both these chapters will also pay due attention to the overarching issue of gender: Terracina's identity as a female author in a society which disputed her right to public speech is a constant shaping factor of her work. The dissertation will conclude with a chapter considering the contemporary reception of Terracina's texts, and possible future avenues of research to help us better understand her early modern readership, before closing with a consideration of her literary afterlife in the following centuries.

I. A Product of Naples

Her publishing debut may have been in Venice, but Laura Terracina is a product of Naples: her choices of themes, forms and dedicatees all pay witness to the local influences which shaped her work. As a printed Neapolitan woman writer, she was highly unusual, and assiduously cultivated a particular place and status for herself within her surroundings, carefully crafting her own image. This chapter will seek to understand Terracina first as the product of the influences of her natal city, exploring the relatively little that we know of her biography, and then as the product of her social circle within the city, the Academy of the Incogniti and her self-constructed coterie. It will be argued that, although Terracina was a member of the Incogniti, this is a red herring when considering her socioliterary self-fashioning in Naples. Rather, it is more instructive to read her in the context of non-aristocratic women publishing in both Italy and France in the mid and late Cinquecento, who used their prestigious male literary contacts to affirm their own worth.

Given the importance of Naples as a home for Terracina, it was helpful to her that women played a highly visible role in the city's civic self-portrayal. Naples had a tradition of prominent female writers beginning with Vittoria Colonna, a tradition given even greater visibility by civic-minded male authors. Giulio Cesare Capaccio (1550-1634) was long engaged as a government secretary, and was also the author of a collection of the lives of illustrious women, *Illustrium mulierum*.¹¹⁹ In this work, he claimed that Naples had at all times been prominent for learning and, moreover, that its fame for this was burnished by the contribution of female poets such as Vittoria Colonna, Isabella di Morra (technically from a province within the Kingdom of

¹¹⁹ *Illustrium mulierum et illustrium litteris virorum elogia* (Naples: Io. Iacobum Carlium and Constantium Vitalem, 1608).

Naples), Tullia d' Aragona and Laura Terracina (notably all sixteenth-century poets).¹²⁰ Benedetto Croce even described Cinquecento Naples as a sort of 'Mecca for women poets'.¹²¹ While this may be a hyperbolic description of the situation, the role of literary and upper-class women in the city's civic and literary life should not be underestimated. During Charles V's 1536 visit to Naples, for example, the number of elite women attending the feasts and celebrations that took place in his honour was roughly equal to that of men, as would have been largely typical of all Renaissance court festivities.¹²²

In Naples, as in other cities of the Italian peninsula, lyric poetry was a very common means of extolling women as a source of civic pride. The Arno rejoices in having 'delle Muse e di Febo il primo onore' in Laura Battiferra,¹²³ Veronica Franco was 'd'Adria ninfa leggiadra',¹²⁴ and Matraini 'al piccol Serchio / cresce [...] onor più ch'onde'.¹²⁵ Educated women were themselves held up as 'proof' of a city or region's excellence: Veronica Gambara features in *Rime di diversi eccellenti autori bresciani* (1553),¹²⁶ while

¹²⁰ Elisa Novi Chavarria, 'The Space of Women' in *A Companion to Early Modern Naples*, ed. by Tommaso Astarita (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2013), pp. 177-96 (p. 178).

¹²¹ Benedetto Croce, *Curiosità storiche* (Naples: R. Ricciardi, 1921), pp. 30-41, cited in Chavarria, p. 178.

¹²² Chavarria, in *A Companion to Early Modern Naples*, ed. by Astarita, p. 183.

¹²³ Sonnet from Il Lasca to Battiferra, in Battiferra, *Laura Battiferra*, p. 172.

¹²⁴ Anonymous *capitolo* to Franco, quoted in Franco, *Poems*, p. 118. Venice was called Adria as it sits on the Adriatic Sea (Franco, *Poems and Selected Letters*, p. 73).

¹²⁵ Sonnet to Matraini from Ludovico Domenichi (Chiara Matraini, *Rime e lettere*, ed. by Giovanna Rabitti (Bologna: Commissione per i testi di lingua, 1989), p. 110). The Serchio is the river running through Lucca.

¹²⁶ *Rime di diversi eccellenti autori bresciani* (Venice: Pietro Pietrasanta, 1553). Cox, *Women's Writing*, p. 102.

Tuscan women were given pride of place in Domenichi's 1559 *Rime diverse d'alcune nobilissime, et virtuosissime donne*,¹²⁷ 'evidence' of the cultural superiority of the lands of the Medici, Domenichi's patrons.

In works addressed to Terracina and printed in her poetry collections, she is clearly presented as a source of civic pride for Naples and the Sebeto – rivers often function metonymically for the city through which they run. Domenichi describes her as bringing 'a l'humil Sebeto honore e gloria'¹²⁸ and Fabio Ottinello boasts that 'il mio Sebeto ha ben più lieta stella'¹²⁹ than elsewhere, while Anton Francesco Doni claims that Terracina's poetry 'col toscò maggior s'aguaglia e giostra'.¹³⁰ In Francesco Agostini della Chiesa's *Theatro delle donne letterate*, Terracina's Neapolitan status is at the fore.¹³¹ It is notable that this trumpeting of Terracina as a source of civic pride in spite of her close links to the Spanish authorities stands in stark contrast to Tansillo's

¹²⁷ *Rime diverse d'alcune nobilissime, et virtuosissime donne* (Lucca: Vincenzo Busdraghi, 1559). See Deanna Shemek, 'The Collector's Cabinet: Lodovico Domenichi's Gallery of Women', in *Strong Voices, Weak History. Early Women Writers and Canons in England, France, and Italy*, ed. by Pamela Joseph Benson and Victoria Kirkham (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2005), pp. 239-62; and Clara Stella, 'Publishing Renaissance Women Poets: The Contribution of Domenichi's *Rime diverse d'alcune nobilissime et virtuosissime donne* (1559)' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Leeds, 2017).

¹²⁸ Terracina, *Rime*, no page number (in final section, 'Rime d'alcuni nobilissimi ingegni in lode della signora Laura Terracina').

¹²⁹ *Rime*, no page number, (in final section, 'Rime d'alcuni nobilissimi ingegni in lode della signora Laura Terracina').

¹³⁰ *Rime*, no page number, (in final section, 'Rime d'alcuni nobilissimi ingegni in lode della signora Laura Terracina').

¹³¹ *Theatro delle donne letterate* (Mondovi: Giovanni Gissandi e Giovan Tomaso Rossi, 1620), pp. 208-09.

unpopularity among Neapolitan poets thanks to his employment with the Spanish.¹³² As a woman who did not interact closely with the Toledo family on a daily basis, Terracina was evidently seen as not sufficiently integrated with Spanish administrative or bureaucratic circle to be tainted, despite her family's links to the viceroyalty.

The Terracina family and the Spanish nobility

The relationship between the Terracina family and the Spanish aristocracy which ruled Naples was rather unusual for the era, perhaps fuelled by their anomalous social position between nobility and the middle class. The situation in the city itself was delicate: the autonomy of the Neapolitans had to be balanced with the desires of the Spanish monarchy, and the viceregal court functioned as the node where the two met and balance was maintained.¹³³

Domenico Bacio Terracina, the Eletto del popolo and Terracina's uncle, was the seventh of the city's Eletti.¹³⁴ While historically the Eletto del Popolo had represented the interests of the Neapolitan cities over those of the Spanish rulers, Domenico was perceived instead as siding with the Spanish. Indeed, the event which sparked the 1547 insurrection in Naples against the imposition of the Spanish Inquisition in Naples was the demand that Domenico Terracina be removed from the office of Eletto del

¹³² J.-Graciliano Gonzalaz Miguel, *Presencia napolitana en el siglo de oro español*. Luigi Tansillo (1510-1568) (Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 1979), p. 66.

¹³³ For more on how Spain maintained peace in Naples while pursuing a project of centralisation, see Gabriel Guarino, *Representing the King's Splendour. Communication and Reception of Symbolic Forms of Power in Viceregal Naples* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2010).

¹³⁴ The other six represented the five noble Seggi of the city - Montagna was represented by two Eletti. Guarino, p. 49.

popolo and replaced by Giovanni Pasquale da Sesso, a demand accompanied by threats and insults against all those 'ch'erano sospetti di corrispondenza col Vicerè'.¹³⁵ An anonymous poet accused Domenico Terracina of betraying his office and his city in the most heinous way:

Giuda tradì sol Cristo coll'ingegno,
Tu perfido villano annobilito
Me che t'ho fatto Eletto e tutto il regno.¹³⁶

Terracina publicly stood by her uncle in her poetry at the same time as making her allegiance to the city's best interests clear:

Ben puoi, Napoli mia, ciechi e mal accorti
Sempre chiamar i cittadini tuoi
Che fuor d'ogni saper, d'ogni consiglio
Han la fama e l'onor posti in periglio.¹³⁷

¹³⁵ Parrino, p. 183.

¹³⁶ Quoted in the *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* entry for Terracina, 'BACIO TERRACINA, LAURA', by Giorgio Reichenbach, <<http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/laura-terracina/>> [accessed 15 November 2015].

¹³⁷ Quoted in the *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* entry for 'BACIO TERRACINA, Laura, by Giulio Reichenbach, <<http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/laura-terracina/>> [accessed 15 November 2015].

In the *Seste rime* 1, there is a poem commemorating Domenico Terracina's death on 22 May 1556, in which she celebrates his leaving behind 'mondano pensier caduco, e frale',¹³⁸ but seems surprisingly ambiguous about his final destination:

Pur mi doglio del mio, e mi conturbo,
e resto del tuo queto al fin sospetta,
che mi dovevi dar qualche sostegno.

Ma Dio, che mai non pate alcun disturbo,
con la pietosa mano e benedetta
te condurrà sper'io nel santo regno.¹³⁹

Perhaps she was hedging her bets with regards to public opinion of her uncle, perhaps she genuinely questioned his role in suppressing reformist thought, or perhaps it is no more than a poetic conceit. The poem was removed from the *Seste rime* 2 but appears once more in the *Nono libro* manuscript,¹⁴⁰ suggesting that it is indeed by Terracina and not one of the unwelcome additions under her name lamented in the *Seste rime* 2 dedication.

Terracina's immediate family are a more shadowy presence within her work. Although she must have lived on the family estate with at least one of her brothers until at least the time of her marriage, her published collections contain only one poem addressed to a male member of her family.¹⁴¹ Her mother is only mentioned in the

¹³⁸ *Seste rime* 1, p. 97.

¹³⁹ *Seste rime* 1, p. 97.

¹⁴⁰ *Nono libro*, MS Palatino 229, fol. 68^r.

¹⁴¹ 'Signor son certo che vi burlarete', *Rime*, p. 18^v.

Nono libro, but this is with some affection, and also in a way which sheds some light on the situation of the Terracina family:

Alla Illustrissima donna Isabella Marchesana di Caserta

Vostra Baiola et serva fu mia madre

Et del mio proprio latte vi nutria,

Signora mia, talché per lei dico io

Che son vostre bellezze sì leggiadre.

Appena conobi ei, né pur mio padre,

Che così piacqui al cielo e'l sommo Dio.¹⁴²

These lines suggest both that Terracina's mother acted as a wet nurse to some of Naples' higher ranking and more financially secure noble families,¹⁴³ and that both she and Terracina's father died while the poet was still young. This might explain why they scarcely appear in the poetry, although Montella speculates that Terracina's name with the Academy degli Incogniti, Febea, may have been chosen in homage to her mother.¹⁴⁴ In the *Rime*, we find one poem to Terracina's sister, which adopts an affectionate tone in which to praise her sister for beauty, but also to ask pardon for daring to be a writer. In the form of a *trasmutazione* of *Orlando Furioso* canto XLIV, stanza 62, Terracina laments the situation of her birth, 'schiva / Del ciel, da [sic] la

¹⁴² *Nono libro*, MS Palatino 229, fol. 101^r.

¹⁴³ This is admittedly unexpected given the Terracina family's rank, but it seems extraordinary that Terracina would have invented such a thing. For more on wet nursing during the Renaissance, see Margaret L. King, *Women of the Renaissance* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1991), pp. 12-18.

¹⁴⁴ Montella, p. 12.

fortuna, e del mio stato',¹⁴⁵ which presumably her sister shared to a degree. Interestingly, Terracina seems to treat this poem as a safe space in which to discuss a highly personal issue, her chastity:

Un sol mi potrà ben farmi voltare
De l'esser mio e tutta havermi seco;
Quando il ciel mi vorrà sposo donare
C'habbia quel fior, c'hor porto intatto meco.¹⁴⁶

It is as though the ostensibly intimate address to a sister provides a seemly cover for an issue that was sensitive, but important, for a woman at this time. Moreover, it was an opportunity for Terracina to defend herself against anyone who may have wondered whether her embrace of the public medium of print also signified personal promiscuity.

Beyond these two examples, Terracina shows little contact with her family. We might theorise two reasons for this. They may have had a cool personal relationship, but it may also have been the case that, in writing to her family, Terracina would not have been furthering the aims of her poetry collection. If, as will be argued below, the books of verse should be understood as social tools, networking with one's own lowly family would not have been a priority.

Terracina and the Accademia degli Incogniti

Aside from its sometimes fractious politics, Naples provided a singular socioliterary context for Terracina. For centuries leading up to the turn of the Cinquecento, Naples

¹⁴⁵ *Rime*, p. 16^r.

¹⁴⁶ *Rime*, p. 16^v.

had been a centre of literary and artistic innovation.¹⁴⁷ By the start of the sixteenth century however, the city's sense of confidence was being tested. Giovanni Pontano (1429-1503) had only a short time left to live, while the other major protagonist of Naples' fifteenth-century literary scene, Jacopo Sannazaro (1456-1530), lamented at the end of his *Arcadia* (1504) that all was lost.¹⁴⁸ Charles VIII's invasion in 1494 had shaken the city from complacency and into a state approaching a crisis of virtue and reason. The decline of Naples' literary and humanist institutions continued into the sixteenth century: under the rule of Pietro di Toledo (viceroy 1532-1553) the teaching of humanist subjects was put on hold at the Studio (1536-1539) and in 1543 the Accademia Pontaniana was closed.¹⁴⁹ In 1547, the other three academies in Naples (the Ardent, Sireni and Incogniti) were also closed. Indeed, in the years from 1530 to 1552, which saw the publication of Giolito's anthology of Neapolitan petrarchists, there is little recorded literary activity.¹⁵⁰ That said, the popular narrative that Pietro di Toledo had a severely repressive effect upon Naples' literary activity has been problematised by Tobia Toscano, who suggests that in fact Toledo's government was not as

¹⁴⁷ For more on general Neapolitan literary history, see Benedetto Croce, *Storia del regno di Napoli* (Bari: G. Laterza e Figli, 1925); Jerry H. Bentley, *Politics and Culture in Renaissance Naples* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987); Nancy L. Canepa, 'Literary Culture in Naples, 1500-1800', in *A Companion to Early Modern Naples*, ed. by Tommaso Astarita (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2013), pp. 427-51.

¹⁴⁸ Canepa, 'Literary Culture', in *A Companion to Early Modern Naples*, ed. by Astarita, pp. 427-28.

¹⁴⁹ Canepa, 'Literary Culture', in *A Companion to Early Modern Naples*, ed. by Astarita, p. 429.

¹⁵⁰ Tobia Toscano, *Letterati Corti Accademie. La letteratura a Napoli nella prima metà del Cinquecento* (Naples: Loffredo, 2000), p. 9.

suffocating as has been portrayed, especially for the aforementioned academies, the Ardeni, Sireni and Incogniti.¹⁵¹

These three major academies were founded in 1546, but their roots appear to go back further – from 1535 Giovan Domenico Lega signed himself as ‘Parthenio Incognito’ on a record of events organised for Charles V’s visit to Naples.¹⁵² Members of Naples’ primary literary circles were divided between the three academies, and many men were members of more than one. As such, there was a high level of interaction between them: rather than rival organisations, they seem to have functioned as mutually supportive institutions which worked together to develop Naples as a centre of cultural activity. Terracina herself was a member of the Accademia degli Incogniti, although what membership might have meant in practice for a woman is discussed below.

In 1547, Naples was the theatre for a social and political convulsion which had particularly strong consequences for its literary institutions, demonstrating how it is hard to separate politics from the cultural scene within an urban environment. At the start of May 1547, rioting broke out in Naples and, in an almost unprecedented move,

¹⁵¹ Toscano, *Letterati Corti Accademie*, pp. 238-40. Michele Maylender (*Storia delle accademie d’Italia*, 5 vols (Bologna: A. Forni, 1926-30)) lists a fourth academy, the Eubolei, on the basis of Camillo Minieri-Riccio’s *Cenno storico delle accademie fiorite nella città di Napoli* in the *Archivio storico per le province napoletane (anno IV)* (vol. 2, pp. 332-33). Maylender also notes two other fleeting Cinquecento references to this academy, which otherwise seems to have been rather overlooked compared to the other three that flourished in Naples. Maylender’s work is the generally acknowledged primary reference work for information on academies and their membership.

¹⁵² Toscano, *Letterati Corti Accademie*, pp. 236-37. This also gives a fuller account of the foundation of Naples’ three academies.

the nobility sided with the *popolo* against the Spanish rulers. The revolt was against Pietro di Toledo's attempt to impose a form of the Inquisition 'a modo di España' upon Naples.¹⁵³ The revolt was successful in the sense that the Eletto del popolo was replaced,¹⁵⁴ and a harsh form of the Inquisition was not imposed, but it remained a disturbing event in Naples, and it has typically been claimed that the city's academies, as meeting grounds for elite and *engagé* noblemen, were closed at this point. However, Toscano suggests that the choice of 1547 as the 'official' date of the academies' closure was thanks to the need to find 'un suggello eroico che siglasse in maniera complessiva la fine della splendida stagione, politica e culturale insieme, avviata a Napoli dalla dinastia aragonese'.¹⁵⁵

Terracina's own published works put the lie to the narrative that the Incogniti was defunct either as an institution or as a culturally significant name following 1547, for they publicly display academies' interactions and identify her as a member of the Incogniti. However, as a female member of the academy, Terracina's role cannot simply be equated with that of male members. Although some academies did admit

¹⁵³ See Peter A. Mazur, *The New Christians of Spanish Naples, 1528-1671: A Fragile Elite* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), pp. 56-7, for more on how the threatened inquisitional tribunal was viewed as a covert form of foreign intervention; also Luigi Amabile, *Il Santo ufficio della inquisizione a Napoli*, vol. 1 (Città di Castello: S. Lapi, 1892), pp. 97-215; for the later irregular inquisitorial situation in Naples see Giovanni Romeo, 'Una città due inquisizioni: l'anomalia del Sant'Ufficio a Napoli nel tardo '500', *Rivista di Storia e Letteratura Religiosa*, 24 (1988), 42-67.

¹⁵⁴ From 1548, Pietro di Toledo imposed a mechanism whereby the viceroy chose the popular representative from a list of six nominees compiled by the popular *piazza*, perhaps an attempt to maintain some control while avoiding the situation in which the Eletto del popolo was deeply unpopular with those he represented (Guarino, p. 50).

¹⁵⁵ *Letterati Corti Accademie*, p. 238.

chosen women, female membership of and participation in academies can cover a wide range of levels of involvement, from what was effectively merely nominal membership (Eleonora di Toledo, Accademia degli Alterati) to much fuller participation (Margherita Sarocchi, Accademia degli Umoreisti and Accademia degli Ordinati).¹⁵⁶ Establishing the true extent to which women were accepted as equals, permitted into private lectures, for example, is hard to determine. Undoubtedly, the vast majority of academy members were male and a sceptical attitude towards female membership was widespread. The ambivalence of male *litterati* and the wider public towards female learning and subsequent academy membership is perhaps best illustrated by satirists of the day. In Traiano Boccalini's *Ragguagli di Parnaso*,¹⁵⁷ one sketch imagines the illustrious Accademia degli Intronati (of Siena, an academy which did admit Laura Battiferra in 1560) accepting Vittoria Colonna, Veronica Gambara, Laura Terracina, and 'altre dame poetesse più segnalate di Parnaso' as members.¹⁵⁸ Although initially the women are a source of great inspiration to their male peers who are so 'riscaldati dalla bellezza di quelle dame' that 'non solo negli esercizi letterari si vedevano frequentissimi, ma ogni giorno publicavano poesie tali che ne stupivano le muse stesse' – perhaps unsurprisingly, no mention is made of the women's own poetic endeavours once in the academy. All does not end well, however, as women are sent back to their proper place by Apollo, thanks to the sexual licentiousness that is unleashed by their presence:

¹⁵⁶ Virginia Cox, 'Members, Muses, Mascots: Women and Italian Academies' in *The Italian Academies 1525-1700: Networks of Culture, Innovation and Dissent*, ed. by Jane E. Everson, Denis V. Reidy and Lisa Sampson (Oxford: Legenda, 2016), pp. 132-59 (pp. 142-46). See also Conor Fahy, 'Women and Italian Cinquecento academies' in *Women in Italian Renaissance Culture and Society*, ed. by Letizia Panizza (Oxford: Legenda, 2000), pp. 438-52.

¹⁵⁷ First published Venice: Pietro Farri, 1612.

¹⁵⁸ Boccalini, *Ragguagli di Parnaso*, p. 66. This is book I, sketch 22.

[S]i era finalmente avveduto che la vera poetica delle donne era l'aco e il fuso, e gli esercizi letterari delle dame co' virtuosi somigliavano gli scherzi e i giuochi che tra loro fanno i cani, i quali dopo breve tempo tutti forniscono alla fine in montarsi addosso l'un l'altro.¹⁵⁹

Although women could be a source of inspiration and skilled in their own right, the message is that they are best kept out of male domains.

In reality, however, Terracina's relationship with the Incogniti contrasts with this imagined moral catastrophe, proving beneficial to both parties. Terracina had great commercial success and was the first member of the Incogniti to publish a solo-authored work of poetry; the academy granted her cultural and moral legitimacy, and a very public circle of admirers. In her own works, the dedications to the *Seconde rime* show this particularly clearly. The whole book is framed as a coterie publication, thanks to three dedications which create an adulatory triangle of Terracina, Leonardo Kurz, and 'Museo degli Incogniti'¹⁶⁰ as a representative of the academy. The first dedicatory letter is from the 'amici Incogniti' to Leonardo Kurz, the second from Terracina to Kurz, and the third from Museo degli Incogniti to Terracina. All three dedications refer to the fact that Terracina's poetry (implicitly given by her to Kurz) was passed by Kurz on to the Incogniti 'a correggere' (as the first letter puts it), even if the poems were supposedly so excellent that they were sent 'più tosto a riverirle [...] che ad emenderle'.¹⁶¹ It is as though the poetry were circulated merely to receive praise, rather than for editing, although this may just be a suitably adulatory pose for

¹⁵⁹ Boccalini, *Ragguagli di Parnaso*, p. 66. For more sources on this subject, see Cox, *Women's Writing*, pp. 197-204.

¹⁶⁰ The name possibly a reference to Musaeus of Athens, an ancient Greek polymath and poet.

¹⁶¹ *Rime seconde*, p. 3, first dedicatory letter.

a dedication designed to function as a piece of publicity. Terracina also makes an interesting remark in her letter:

Tosto ch'intesi gratioſo Signor Lionardo, che per voi erano ſtate queſte mie poche e mal compoſte rime a l'Amicitia de gli Incogniti raccomandate, mi perſuaſi ch'elleno haueſſero come incognite a rimanere fra quei dotti e virtuoſi amici, sì perche tale è il coſtume di quella amicitia che veramente queſta noſtra Patria abbelliſce.¹⁶²

She clearly implies that the poetry which was typically circulated among the Incogniti was kept 'incognite', as this was the 'costume di quella amicitia'. This creates an image of an academy in which work was circulated for comment and editing, correction and reaction.¹⁶³

Despite the evident closeness between Terracina and the Incogniti that is publicly showcased by such an exchange, nonetheless Terracina is presented as a close friend of the academy, rather than as a member. '[G]li amici Incogniti' write to Kurz about Terracina; she discusses the Incogniti's habits of circulating poetry; Museo writes to Terracina that not even 'un de gli amici della noſtra Amicitia [...] habbia havuto ardire di cancellar con coltello quello che voi ſcrivete con penna'.¹⁶⁴ Although the *Seconde rime* was published in 1549 and the third letter of this dedication is dated 2 September 1548, that is, well after Terracina's supposed academy membership and before she is

¹⁶² *Rime ſeconde*, p. 5, ſecond dedicatory letter.

¹⁶³ See Jane E. Everson and Liſa Sampſon, 'Introduction', in *The Italian Academies*, ed. by Everson, Reidy and Sampſon, pp. 3-20 (p.13), and Brian Richardson, *Manuſcript Culture in Renaissance Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Preſs, 2009), pp. 95-114.

¹⁶⁴ *Rime ſeconde*, p. 7, third dedicatory letter.

identified as 'Febea degli Incogniti' in the title of her books,¹⁶⁵ she is still separated by the academy's spokesman from the other members. This seems compelling evidence of how women who were accepted and identified as academy members were still in practice relegated to a marginal status.

Despite the fact that Terracina may, in reality, have had limited closeness to the Incogniti on a regular basis, she nevertheless uses her published works to publicly perform a relationship with the academy as a group. In the *Seconde rime* we find an interesting sonnet addressed to the Reverendo di Lesina (at this stage bearing the pseudonym 'Museo degli Incogniti'), in which Terracina expresses her hopes for the Incogniti as an academy led by the Reverendo di Lesina, in the company of the Sereni and Ardenti. In an eye-catching audacious move, she even envisages her own role as a spokeswoman-cum-publicist of the group and a vital part of their success:

Quando io mi volgo in questa parte o in quella,
Et odo il suon di questo nuovo Orfeo,
Tal piacer prendo in sì profondo Egeo,
Che di scogli non temo di procella.
Incognita famiglia ornata e bella,
D'un sì dolce e gentil saggio Museo,

¹⁶⁵ For instance, the *Discorso sopra tutti i primi canti d'Orlando Furioso. Fatto per la s. Laura Terracina detta degl'Incogniti Febea* (Venice: Gabriel Giolito de Ferrari et fratelli, 1550); *Quinte rime della signora Laura Terracina detta Phebea nell'Accademia de gl'Incogniti* (Venice: Giovan Andrea Valvassorio detto Guadagnino, 1552); *Discorso sopra il principio di tutti i canti d'Orlando Furioso. Fatti per la s. Laura Terracina detta nell'accademia degl'incogniti Febea* (Venice: Domenico Farri, 1560); *Rime della S. Laura Terracina detta Febea nell'accademia degl'Incogniti* (Venice: Girolamo Scotto, 1566).

Se mai vedrasi al fosco mio letheo
Splender del chiaro sol viva fiammella,
Potrò di sì leggiadra accorta schiera,
Che Parthenope fa lodata e chiara,
Cantar le vere glorie e i sommi honori,
Destando al suon dela mia voce altiera
De Sereni la fama al mondo rara,¹⁶⁶
E de gli Ardenti i gloriosi ardori.¹⁶⁷

The *Quarte rime*, published the following year with a title identifying the poet as 'Phebea nel'academia de gl'Incogniti', contributes to the growing picture developing of a mutually affirmative and appreciative relationship between Terracina and the Incogniti as a group. Terracina takes a humble position in relation to her male contacts, even while she publicly showcases their interactions:

Le vostre alte virtù, non le mie rime,
Fan pormi a l'honorata vostra setta
Incogniti gentili, che fu eletta
Dal vero Apollo, e da le muse prime.
Potrian far mai d'Amor le forze opime
Ch'oprar io possa il basso stil in fretta
In darvi gratia molta e sì perfetta
Ch'oprar possa il mio dir grato e sublime?

¹⁶⁶ This phrase is reproduced below Enea Vico's engraving of Terracina, produced at around the same time as this edition.

¹⁶⁷ *Rime seconde*, p. 65.

Questo impetrar dal ciel non potrò mai
Nè spero haverne al fin gloria nè spene,
Poi che tenete voi di Phebo i rai.
Dunque la gratia e'l guiderdone, e'l bene
Ch'a me convien, tutto sia vostro homai
Che non ponno acqua dar le secche arene.¹⁶⁸

Terracina puts herself in an inferior position, as the unworthy recipient of 'alte virtù'. She states that it is the Incogniti members who truly deserve the 'guiderdone' and 'bene' which she has earned – also an effective means of reminding the reader that, despite her 'basso stil', she has won acclaim and popularity for her compositions. Although Terracina has received critical negativity for her verse, and remained marginalised to some degree by Naples' literary institutions, it should be recalled that this poem is being published, nationally, in her fourth work. She was still riding the wave of immense acclaim for the *Rime* and *Discorso*. There can be no doubt that this submissive position is somewhat feigned, given that the men to whom she was writing had not received, and would not receive, such attention for their own work and in fact doubtless appreciated the visibility that published poetic correspondence with Terracina afforded them.

In the 1552 *Quinte rime* she addresses another poem 'alli signori incogniti', but this time she adopts a more assertive pose, while remaining appropriately humble:

Credo che mi terete troppo altera,
E'ngrata anchor tra l'altre donne ingrate;
Ma fur mai sempre a me le virtù grate,

¹⁶⁸ *Quarte rime*, p. 17^v.

E l'ho dimostro con mia rima intiera.
 Nè m'accade con voi farmi più fiera,
 Sapendo, che da me son tanto amate
 Le vostre alme fatiche, e honorate,
 In cui gusto sì dolce primavera.
 Io, per non v'esser discortese tanto,
 Nè darvi spesso un faticoso impaccio,
 Ho quasi indrieto ritirato il passo.
 Non per grandezza, nè per altro vanto
 Crediate, che'l voler dal cor discaccio;
 Ma per non far vostro pensier sì basso.¹⁶⁹

The repeated use of the first person ('Credo che mi', l. 1, 'Io', l. 9, 'Ho quasi indrieto', l. 11 and elsewhere) places the figure of Terracina the poet at the centre of the reader's mind. Her unusual status as a woman (''ngrata anchor tra l'altre donne ingrate', l. 2) and a poet ('mia rima intiera', l. 4) is also firmly alluded to. Although she speaks humbly by describing the Incogniti's 'alme fatiche' in comparison to her own lowliness, she takes a rather controlling attitude, announcing to them unilaterally that she has 'ritirato il passo' to avoid a 'faticoso impaccio'. Supposedly, she wants to avoid dragging them down to her 'sì basso' level and is not in any way displaying unfeminine pride or arrogance. The determination of her voice is at odds, however, with this proclaimed submission. Indeed, the whole poem is somewhat mysterious: to what event is Terracina referring that caused her to draw back from her connection with the Incogniti? Is this merely a poetic stance or invented incident to spice up the *Quinte rime*, or does it allude to some real event before 8 August 1551 (the dedication date) but after 1550 (the publication year of the *Quarte rime*)?

¹⁶⁹ *Quinte rime*, p. 33^v-33^r.

From this date, Terracina's interaction with the Incogniti fades from view. However, her carefully curated network does not contract in any way. Rather, it is a salient reminder that it is important not to overstate the importance of Terracina's academician status as an influence on her work. Instead, I argue that reading Terracina's life and writings through an academy lens may be a red herring. A more illustrative angle from which to understand her techniques of network building might be to see her as one among a number of mid and late Cinquecento women who built their own coteries, partially through and in print.

The woman's academy: networks

In both sixteenth-century France and Italy, around the midcentury, a new type of female author began to achieve a degree of public visibility. Unlike her aristocratic predecessors, Vittoria Colonna, Veronica Gambara, or even Christine de Pisan, this new type of writer was of bourgeois or lesser noble rank. These women leveraged their literary ability and social skill to consolidate their cultural position and the medium of print publication played a crucial role in this process. A printed book – solo-authored or an anthology – was tangible proof of their sociocultural desirability, displaying as it did their talent, but also an expansive network of contacts. I argue that this lens is more fruitful for understanding Laura Terracina and her literary networking than reading her first and foremost as an academician.¹⁷⁰ It is to comparable women in other cities to whom we should turn to frame Terracina, rather than her fellow academicians in Naples, important as they are in making up her own network.

¹⁷⁰ Virginia Cox, in her important study of women and academies in Cinquecento Italy, also considers broader forms of cultural sociability, such as *ridotti*, which fostered female engagement ('Members, Muses, Mascots', in *The Italian Academies*, ed. by Everson, Reidy and Sampson, pp. 159-61).

Women who created and managed social networks of this type operated across France and Italy: we might think of Louise Labé (Lyon), Chiara Matraini (Lucca), Laura Battiferra (Florence), the Dames des Roches (Poitiers) and Veronica Franco (Venice).¹⁷¹ These women may not have enjoyed aristocratic social status, but all boldly claimed for themselves the attribute of literary talent and publicised their cultural interests. Their relationships with the men who surrounded them, *litterati*, rulers, artists and high-minded bureaucrats, were a source of legitimisation and support. The relationships that developed between a woman and her male contacts can be understood as existing in two phases. The first is the establishment of the relationship, perhaps in person in a *salon*-style meeting or bookshop, perhaps through the exchange of poetry and written praise. In the second phase, the relationship is concretised and legitimated through the public medium of print. By publicly exchanging verse, being publicly chosen by an editor, or authoring her own collection which included correspondence poetry, the woman provided tangible evidence of her own success. Importantly, she was instrumental in this public display, allowing – or even arranging for – the printing of her poetry in solo-authored collections, and contributing when asked to anthologies.

In order to illuminate how Terracina built up her own social and literary capital, I will first provide two case studies of comparable achievement by two other women who have been better studied, Laura Battiferra and Louise Labé. Laura Battiferra (1523-1589), who did in fact correspond in verse with Terracina,¹⁷² was at the heart of a lively

¹⁷¹ See also Julie Campbell, 'Salons, Salonnières and Women Writers', in *Encyclopedia of Women in the Renaissance*, ed. by Diana Robin, Anne R. Larsen and Carole Levin (Santa Barbara: ABC-Clio, 2007), pp. 202-05.

¹⁷² See chapter three for further discussion of this sonnet exchange, in the section 'Women and the choral anthology'.

artistic scene in Medicean Florence.¹⁷³ Married to sculptor Bartolomeo Ammannati, she was 'admired as a phenomenal female, accepted by her male colleagues as a peer among peers'.¹⁷⁴ So popular was she among her male peers, and so desirable was a relationship with her, that she was courted for acceptance in numerous academies, as described by her husband Bartolomeo:

My wife, Laura Battiferra of Urbino, a woman gifted as a poet, has come here and then been much courted and caressed by these Academicians, who want her to be in one of their academies, whichever one she likes of the three – that is, The Intronati, The Rozzi, and The Desiosi.¹⁷⁵

Eventually she would choose the Intronati, becoming a member in 1560. The importance of the context in which Battiferra operated is signalled by Victoria Kirkham's decision to entitle the edition of Battiferra's verse in the Other Voice series *Laura Battiferra and her Literary Circle*.¹⁷⁶ Benedetto Varchi helped Battiferra to establish a name for herself upon her move to Florence in 1555, and she soon established a network of admiring contacts which, although centred in culturally dynamic Florence,

¹⁷³ See Victoria Kirkham, 'Battiferra, Laura' in *Encyclopedia of Women*, ed. by Robin, Larsen and Levin, pp. 38-42.

¹⁷⁴ Victoria Kirkham, 'Sappho on the Arno. The Brief Fame of Laura Battiferra', in *Strong Voices, Weak History*, ed. by Benson and Kirkham, pp. 176-98 (p. 179).

¹⁷⁵ Quoted in Kirkham, 'Sappho on the Arno', in *Strong Voices, Weak History*, ed. by Benson and Kirkham, p.180. It should be noted that Kirkham says on the same page that Battiferra was the first woman ever admitted to an Italian academy – as the above study of Terracina shows, this is incorrect.

¹⁷⁶ Laura Battiferra degli Ammannati, *Laura Battiferra and her Literary Circle* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2006).

spread as far as Prague and Madrid.¹⁷⁷ In 1560 came the *Primo libro delle opera toscane*,¹⁷⁸ notable for being, like works by Terracina, highly social and outward-facing. Kirkham characterises it as ‘a stunning social act’,¹⁷⁹ a description which could equally be applied to Terracina’s collections. Indeed, given that we know Battiferra was aware of Terracina by 1562 (that is, at the time of Eleonora di Toledo’s death, the ostensible reason for the sonnet exchange between Terracina and Battiferra), we could hypothesise that she might have been aware of, even inspired by, the Neapolitan poet’s collections at this stage. Kirkham does affirm that ‘Battiferra took seriously the precedent set by women poets’, naming as evidence the Colonna-like division of the *canzoniere* into two sections, the latter of spiritual verse, as well as a dedication to Eleonora di Toledo like that of Tullia d’Aragona’s *Rime*, and shadows of Chiara Matraini and Gaspara Stampa.¹⁸⁰ I believe it would be justified to add Terracina to this list, who at this point would have been by far the most well-known female author composing the kind of social collection Battiferra assembled. Like Terracina, she uses her printed books as a ‘virtual salon’,¹⁸¹ fashionably including the voices of other poets who are unfailingly celebratory of their respondent-cum-Muse. Also like Terracina, she composes occasional poetry to passive recipients, whose names nonetheless add lustre to the collection and burnish Battiferra’s own image.¹⁸²

¹⁷⁷ Battiferra, *Laura Battiferra*, pp. 21-2.

¹⁷⁸ *Primo libro delle opere toscane* (Florence: Giunti, 1560).

¹⁷⁹ Battiferra, *Laura Battiferra*, p. 23.

¹⁸⁰ Battiferra, *Laura Battiferra*, pp. 52-3.

¹⁸¹ Battiferra, *Laura Battiferra*, p. 36.

¹⁸² Indeed, we could trace a trajectory not dissimilar to that of Terracina in her later years too: she withdrew from a position of prominence on the literary scene, only occasionally composing local poetry (Battiferra, *Laura Battiferra*, p. 28).

The second example of consolidation of a social position through a printed poetry collection which I will explore here is that of Louise Labé, whose *Euvres de Louise Labé Lionnoize [...] Suivi de Escriz de divers poètes à la louenge de Louize Labé Lionnoize* were published in Lyon in 1555.¹⁸³ Labé's fame was bright and brilliant (she had '[a]pparue comme une comète dans le ciel lyonnais' in the words of Mireille Huchon),¹⁸⁴ although she did not enjoy the extended fame of Terracina. She did, however, construct both a circle of male admirers and the women of Lyon as her audience; '[h]er publisher framed her poems to emphasise her typicality as a woman of the city'.¹⁸⁵ The structure of the work is similar to those of Terracina, with the poet's own poetry (and in Labé's case, the prose *Débat de folie et amour*) followed by a collection of poetry by male admirers. While it is notable that Labé's male contributors dwell to a much greater extent on her beauty – perhaps understandable given the amorous bent of her poetry – her literary reputation is bolstered by the linguistic variety of the verse, which comes in Latin, Greek, Italian and French. The fact that some contributors are only named by initials increases the sense that the collection is a glimpse into a normally closed world. While Labé's work lacks the sensation of busy plurivocality that characterises the volumes of Terracina and Battiferra, following a more formal structure which

¹⁸³ *Euvres de Louise Labé Lionnoize [...] Suivi de Escriz de divers poètes à la louenge de Louize Labé Lionnoize* (Lyon: Jean de Tournes, 1555) [1556 edition accessed via Gallica.fr, <<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k792066.r=Louise%20Lab%C3%A9?rk=42918;4>> [accessed 01 May 18]].

¹⁸⁴ Mireille Huchon, *Louise Labé. Une creature de papier* (Geneva: Droz, 2006), p. 7.

¹⁸⁵ Ann Rosalind Jones, 'City Women and Their Audiences: Louise Labé and Veronica Franco', in *Rewriting the Renaissance. The Discourses of Sexual Difference in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Margaret W. Ferguson, Maureen Quilligan and Nancy J. Vickers (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1986), pp. 299-316 (p. 307). For more on how Labé's male peers responded to her work, see Vanessa Glauser, 'The Conquest of the Ancients: The Gender of Imitation in Louise Labé's *Euvres* and the "Escriz de divers poètes, à la louenge de Louize Labé Lionnoize"', *Early Modern Women: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, 12 (2018), 54-75.

separates Labé's voice from those praising her,¹⁸⁶ it is evidence of the same strategy used to provide visible proof to readers of the place occupied by a middle-class, literary-minded woman.¹⁸⁷ The suggestion is that Labé lived at the centre of a busy coterie of men in whose midst she flourished. Alfred Cartier went as far as to describe her as surrounded by a 'véritable cour' of intellectuals, artists and poets.¹⁸⁸ Terracina, Battiferri, Labé, and others like them, played out their relationships with a number of men in public, 'proving' their right to occupy a position of some visibility and receive acknowledgement of their literary skill.

To better illustrate the precise tenor of Terracina's social network and how it allowed her to use or shape her relationship with male *litterati*, both in and of itself and in the eyes of the public, it will be useful to consider a pair of case studies, her relationships with renowned poets Fabio Ottinello and Luigi Tansillo. Fabio Ottinello, a member of both the Accademia dei Sireni and Accademia degli Ardentissimi, has poetry addressed to him in Terracina's *Seconde rime*, *Quarte rime*, and *Quinte rime*. In the *Seconde rime* Terracina is polite and Ottinello is presented no differently from many other male correspondents, as inexpressibly talented and intimidatingly virtuous:

Et s'io non scrivo in stil più vago adorno,

¹⁸⁶ The separate section dedicated to male admirers does appear in Terracina's early works, and also Tullia d'Aragona's 1547 *Rime*.

¹⁸⁷ Indeed, Fernand Zamaron, one of Labé's biographers, has suggested that some of the hostility towards her was born of class disapproval – by openly cultivating her city's aristocracy she offended the bourgeoisie (*Louise Labé: Dame de la franchise* (Paris: Nizet, 1968), pp. 124-48, cited in Jones, 'City Women', in *Rewriting the Renaissance*, ed. by Ferguson, Quilligan and Vickers, pp. 299-316 (p. 302)).

¹⁸⁸ 'Les poètes de Louise Labé', *Revue d'Histoire Littéraire de la France*, I, (1894), pp. 433-40 (p. 433).

Giunger non posso il vostro alto intelletto
Ch'il ciel fa bello ogn'hor di giorno in giorno,
Ond'ho tal fiamma al cor, tal ghiaccio al petto,
Ch'astretta da pensier timore e scorno,
Nulla vi scrivo, e mi dà il dir diletto.¹⁸⁹

His 'response', although not labelled as such, is included later in the section of poetry to Terracina. His praise is fulsome, both in its depiction of her as a skilled poet and as a resident of Parnassus, and he picks up her (Petrarchan) imagery of boats and cliffs:

Laura gentil, che tra più chiari spirti
Et tra più belle honeste e candid'alme
Che Parnaso hebbe mai, di lauree palme
Ti veggio ornate e di frondosi mirti;
S'unqua la nave mia fra tante sirti
Sciolte d'aspri pensier le gravi salme
Rivolga a piaggie dilettose e alme,
Onde possa il mio stil libero offrirti,
Tal'hor per me del tuo leggiadro nome
Risulneran le selve in ogni canto,
Ch'Apollo intento a le mie dolci rime
Dirà; di queste sì onorate cime,
Che tra noi rinverdir fai col tuo canto,
Cingiti homai per guiderdon le chiome.¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁹ *Rime seconde*, p. 57.

¹⁹⁰ *Rime seconde*, p. 86.

Relationships develop, however, and Terracina's poetic exchanges with Fabio Ottinello in the 1550 *Quarte rime* show the complexity of some of Terracina's correspondence with other poets. She engages poetically with Ottinello by sending him a sonnet opening, to which he appropriately responds *per le rime* by using the same rhyme words, even as she criticises him on a more personal level. Such an exchange of poetry could be the basis for academy activity, in which academicians address poetry to each other on a chosen topic.

Al Signor Fabio Ottinello

Se voi sete Signor quello gentile
Spirto più amato dal rettor di Delo
Et io sovente con un puro zelo
Parte vi fo del mio sì rozzo stile,
Et se non posso con miei versi a Thile
Mandar i vostri honor pur non li celo,
Perchè in farmi risposta sete un gelo
Dimostrando tener mie rime a vile?
Già non a tutti haver lecito fia
Quella virtù ch'al nostro petto asconde
Colui ch'in vano arse per Daphne amando,
Ma s'a sdegno prendete pur ch'io sia
Da sì alto stil lodata, almen cantando
Date ristoro a le mie secche fronde.¹⁹¹

¹⁹¹ *Quarte rime*, pp. 16^r-16^v.

Del Signor Fabio Ottinello risposta
 Sì geloso è di voi Pianta gentile
 Il gran Pastor che fu nudrito in Delo,
 Che non aita chi da nobil zelo
 Sospinto a farvi honor volge lo stile.
 Et quant'io brama più da Battro a Thile
 I bei pensier che ne la mente celo
 Far noti altrui, più trasformo in gelo,
 Et più si fa la vena incolta e vile;
 Ma il pur dirò (se dir concesso fia)
 Van'ombra, Apollo, il tuo favor m'asconde,
 Che folle è chi co'l suo contende amando,
 Tuo'l tronco, tuo l'odor, tuo'l frutto sia
 Del verde Lauro, io cerco sol cantando
 Le tempie ornar de le sue verde fronde.¹⁹²

Terracina's *proposta* opens audaciously with a direct, almost accusatory question which threatens to cast doubt upon Ottinello's moral character. By evoking a previous debt ('io sovente con un puro zelo / Parte vi fo del mio sì rozzo stile'), Terracina bolsters her high moral position. Although she does acknowledge her own poetic shortcomings – as she is never afraid to do – it is clear that she does not consider this an adequate reason to ignore her: 'Perché in farmi risposta sete un gelo / Dimostrando tener le mie rime a vile?'. Terracina's self-worth, in an era which denigrated women's talents, is refreshing, and plays into a larger pattern of self-defence throughout her oeuvre. Nonetheless she paints her source of poetic regeneration as being her male

¹⁹² *Quarte rime*, pp. 16^v.

interlocutors, while making an implicit play on her name, Laura/lauro. In his *risposta*, printed directly after Terracina's sonnet, Ottinello enters the poetic game. He claims a lack of inspiration adequate to praise Terracina as she deserves (a technique which Terracina herself also frequently employs) even as he replies to her within the constraints of the form and vocabulary she has chosen. Mirroring her use of mythological imagery and vocabulary, Ottinello blames Apollo for his previous shortcomings, and also plays on the Laura/lauro connection.

This duet of poems, both generally polite and respectful of convention, be it poetic or social, nonetheless points to a wider issue that forms a thematic thread through Terracina's work. Her struggle to be taken seriously as a poet and to achieve the boons that accompany it – swift and non-patronising response from her male peers, for example – is something that accompanies her throughout her successful publishing career.

That said, it seems that Terracina is not always as prompt with her own responses to Ottinello as might be polite: she too has to ask his forgiveness in a later sonnet, blaming her own poetic shortcomings:

Al Signor Fabio Ottinello

S'io tremo, e al replicar son pigra e dura,

Fabio gentil, le vostre dotte rime

E le vostre vaghezze tanto opime

Mi fan l'alma tremar, con maggior cura.¹⁹³

¹⁹³ *Quarte rime*, p. 44^r.

These more pragmatic themes come within a poetic context which sees Terracina and Ottinello exchange more typical poetry: she asks for his take on the pangs of Amore, or that he describe his beloved, to both of which he replies cordially.¹⁹⁴

Nonetheless, Ottinello's slightly dismissive attitude does seem to become a recurring problem, continuing in the *Quinte rime*. Despite Ottinello's placatory (patronising?) tone in his *risposte* above, Terracina's repeated complaint suggests that he has not changed his ways:

Al Signor Fabio Ottinello

Questo nome di donna in ogni luoco
Non vuol dir'altro che signora espresso,
E però il gran fattor ve l'ha concesso,
Per darvi al mondo un lume, un bene, un gioco.

E se i scrittori leggerete un poco,
Vedrete quant'honor hanno rimesso
D'imperator le donne, e de i re messo
La più gran parte loro in vivo fuoco.

Voi accorto e gentil Fabio Ottinello,
Non vi mostrate contra a noi sì fiero
Col vostro dotto stil, qual molto estimo,

E se per donne havete aspro flagello
Come ben credo, hor tengasi per vero,

¹⁹⁴ See *Quarte rime*, pp. 70^r-70^v. In total in the *Quarte rime* there are six poems by Ottinello and four to him.

Che non sarete voi fra tanti il primo.¹⁹⁵

Ottinello's attitude is placed in a wider context which sees men in many positions of power – writers, emperors, kings – disparage women and act as an 'aspro flagello' against them. This belief, particularly that writers and historians are to blame for much injustice towards women, is a recurrent trope of Terracina's poetry. Her linguistic quibble at the start of the poem is interesting too, given her position on the fringes of nobility, and frequent role as a conduit between the middle and upper classes of society. She equates 'donna' and 'signora' in a way that is surprising for the period, particularly given how Terracina seems sensitive to nuances of address in other circumstances (see, for example, the ways various widows are titled in the *Settime rime*). By calling out Fabio Ottinello by name, within the poem itself instead of merely in a title, as is more usual in her collections, Terracina places him firmly in her sights. This time, he is unable to avoid her accusation as easily. That said, Terracina is sensitive to nuance, and so tempers her accusation of Ottinello's arrogance and disdain with praise for his 'dotto stil'. No response is printed to this poem, but a poem by Ottinello is included later in the volume, entitled 'Del Signor Fabio Ottinello, alla sua gentilissima donna'. This is, surprisingly, a sonnet which is relatively explicit about the attractions which Ottinello's lady holds:

Dolce esca del mio cor, dolci mammelle,
Che con soave e dolce candidezza
Portate a gli occhi miei tanta dolcezza,
Ch'ogni acerbo dolor s'addolce in elle.
Dolci pomi leggiadri, onde sì belle
Luci apparirno in sì dolce vaghezza,

¹⁹⁵ *Quinte rime*, p. 23^r.

Ch'io dissi (o dolce angelica bellezza)
 Veder da neve uscir dolci fiammelle.
 Dolce d'ogni mio ben ricco thesoro;
 Dolce di dolce ben soggiorno, ch'io
 Sovra ogni dolce, dolcemente honoro.
 Oime, che d'un sì dolce e bel desio
 Dolce vivo, dolce ardo, e dolce moro,
 Et per dolci pensier me stesso oblio.¹⁹⁶

Use of rhythmic patterning of the word 'dolce', particularly in the sextet, threatens to lead to semantic saturation, so that the reader is almost as overcome by the end of the poem as the poet himself. While admiration for a beloved's breasts is far from unusual in the Petrarchan tradition, and their description as 'pomi', this is nonetheless an unexpected inclusion in a collection attributed to a female poet with male contributors. Terracina is generally careful to maintain an entirely decorous stance, and certainly all poetry in her praise talks primarily of her intellectual and moral virtues, and then of her (chaste) beauty. The sudden focus on a woman's breasts is discordant – perhaps Ottinello's renown was such that his choice of poem was included regardless, or perhaps it was intended to spice up the collection, an 'esca' for the reader.

Alongside Fabio Ottinello, Luigi Tansillo was an important poet of sixteenth-century Italy and important local contact for Terracina, and their relationship shows how she consolidated her networks through the medium of print.¹⁹⁷ He enjoyed close

¹⁹⁶ *Quinte rime*, pp. 57^v-58^r.

¹⁹⁷ For more on Tansillo, see Gonzalez Miguel, *Presencia napolitana*; Ciro Rubino, *Tansilliana (La vita, le poesie e le opere di Luigi Tansillo)* (Naples: Istituto Grafico Editore Italiano, 1996);

involvement with the Sireni in Naples (he was also a member of the Florentine Academy, formerly the Accademia degli Umidi) and Girolamo Ruscelli's account of his trip to Naples in 1547 names Tansillo as among its members, although he was not on its list of founders.¹⁹⁸ Having been a victim for centuries of general critical neglect of the poetry of the south of Italy, Tansillo is now eliciting greater interest. The only print collection of his work which definitely had his blessing, the 1551 *Sonetti per la presa d'Africa*,¹⁹⁹ seems intended for a relatively restricted audience of the Toledo family in Naples and their Neapolitan supporters, and Spanish court circles. The remainder of his work appears to have circulated in miscellanies and anthologies, often without his permission.²⁰⁰ Today, Tansillo is often held up as a primary example of the 'Neapolitan school', perhaps alongside Angelo di Costanzo and Berardino Rota, and 'the poet is seen as exemplifying the perceived musicality and discursiveness of Southern writing, sometimes in opposition to the *concettismo* of Di Costanzo or Rota'.²⁰¹ Terracina's relationship with Tansillo in the *Rime* – that is, before Tansillo's own publication but when he was established as a poet²⁰² – seems relatively involved, with Terracina addressing three poems to him, and he one in reply in the section 'in

and Erika Milburn, *Luigi Tansillo and Lyric Poetry in Sixteenth-Century Naples* (Leeds: Maney Publishing, for the Modern Humanities Research Association, 2003).

¹⁹⁸ Milburn, *Luigi Tansillo*, p. 55.

¹⁹⁹ *Sonetti per la presa d'Africa* (Naples: Mattio Cancer, 1551).

²⁰⁰ Milburn, *Luigi Tansillo*, pp. 12-14.

²⁰¹ Milburn, *Luigi Tansillo*, p. 21.

²⁰² Tansillo was wary of publication, which raises the question of whether he has approved the publication of his verse to Terracina, although knowing her proclivity for publication, he might have been foolish to assume it would not see the light of day.

lode della Signora Laura Terracina'.²⁰³ Terracina not only laments her own poetic insufficiency, she directly links it to her gender:

Non bisogna, Signor, pormi tanto alto,
Perché il mio basso nome aggiunga Apollo;
Ch'io non son Daphne;²⁰⁴ e temo su lo smalto
Cadendo de me stessa dare un crollo.
Col valor proprio punto non m'essalto,
Né mi circonda allor capo né collo.
Son certa che non piaccio altrui né giovo,
Ch'altro diletto che imparar non provo. [...]

Voi fonte di Parnaso e di Natura
Scrivete pur, che scriver v'è concesso:
Io donna priva d'arte e di misura
Lo stame, ch'in me tengo, ordisco e tesso.
Et è ragion se 'l mio ingegno ha paura,
Perché non tiene ardir femineo sesso.
S'io non vi scrivo più, non m'incolpate,
Ma la modestia mia, prego, lodate.²⁰⁵

²⁰³ *Rime*, ottava rima stanza p. 8^v; ottava rima stanzas pp. 9^r-9^v; ottava rima stanzas pp. 12^v-13^r; ottava rima stanzas from Tansillo to Terracina, no page number.

²⁰⁴ Perhaps an allusion to Dante's famous line of canto 2, line 32: 'Io non Enëa, io non Paulo sono'.

²⁰⁵ *Rime*, pp. 12^v-13^r, ll. 1-8, 25-32.

Knowingly disingenuous, yet subtly assured, this poem displays many of Terracina's most powerful poetic tropes and her careful control of her pen and her audience. Unsurprisingly, she is dismissive of her own work, her 'stile infermo e stolto' (l. 18) and assures her respondent that 'nulla vale' (l. 14). The claim that this is due to her sex, and that her verse is inherently 'donnesco e frale' (l. 10) because she is a 'donna priva d'arte e di misura' chimes with contemporary ideas on women's frailty and irrationality. Terracina also calls on the early modern belief of women's innate timidity, explaining that her 'ingegno ha paura, / Perché non tiene ardir femineo sesso' (ll. 29-30). At the same time, however, she disrupts the conceptions of gender role to which she pays lip service. Firstly, she makes her response to her own composition intensely intimate and physical: 'la man trema, e impallidisce il volto' (l. 22). In a line, Terracina refutes any hint of ethereality: she is intensely human. She also subtly refutes gender roles through her self-portrayal as someone not interested in fame or popularity, but in learning, declaring that '[s]on certa, che non piaccio altrui ne giovo, / Ch'altro diletto che imparar non provo' (ll. 7-8). In addition to this, her first verse functions in fact as an act of self-affirmation, rather than as a true example of Terracina denigrating herself. By publicising the support, encouragement, and praise which she receives from Tansillo, a major poet, she implicitly presents her readers with evidence of her worth and skill.

Tansillo's response is predictably fulsome, adding shades of praise more appropriate to love poetry to his appreciation of her work as a poet and a modern-day Sappho, Corinna, or Centona:

Se Safo, se Corinna, se Centona,
 Se qualunque altra antica età ne diede;
 Se due moderne, onde il gran nome sona
 Sì ch'a fama viril punto non cede

Le falde di Parnaso e d'Helicon,
Non havesse giamai tocce col piede,
Voi sola bastareste a darne segno
Di quanto alzar si può donnesco ingegno. [...]

Da la vicinità del vostro stile
Fu la virtù ne la mia mente infusa.
Cantate dunque voi, donna gentile,
E perché canti anch'io, siate mia Musa.
Non faccia me sì grande, e voi sì vile,
La cortesia del dir, che da voi s'usa
Che troppo è indegno, che dal mondo s'oda,
Che voi diate a voi biasmo, e a me loda.

A quel Passer gentil, dentro al cui nido
S'odon dolce cantar sì vari augelli,
Poich'ei mi fe primer su questo lido
Sentir il suon de vostri accenti belli.²⁰⁶

The identity of Terracina as a female poet is intimately linked to her role as the Petrarchan beloved. As such, seeing her but once or twice (l. 7) is enough to enchant him, while the imagery of crowned curls refers at once to the blonde beloved and the laurel crown of which Terracina is worthy. As one who sings ('Cantate') beautifully herself, Terracina becomes an *active* Muse, whose activity mirrors that of her admirer; her virtue and skill make her more a woman. The surname 'Passero' (which translates

²⁰⁶ *Rime*, pp. 51^v-52^r.

literally as ‘sparrow’) provides the perfect conceit in the final verse to use pastoral imagery of a nest of songbirds to portray Marcantonio Passero’s bookshop as a centre for poetry and socialising. Tansillo’s portrayal of his relationship with Terracina in this amorous fashion is interesting in its refusal of the binary between the silent beloved and the (unlovable) female poet. It is Terracina’s very identity as a poet that renders her both object of love and Muse.

The *Seconde rime* also includes a poem from Tansillo celebrating Terracina in glowing terms,²⁰⁷ demonstrating both his support for her, and his presence in the Neapolitan literary circles which the *Seconde rime* record. She is described as ‘dele donne pregio, e de le muse’ (l. 1) and the ‘[a]lma più cara che in Parnaso sia’ (l. 2) – an interesting way to depict Terracina from a Neapolitan poet who would have been familiar with the legacy of Vittoria Colonna. Again, Tansillo uses the language and images of love poetry (‘m’havete il cor d’un nodo avolto’, l. 13; ‘mirate il vostro prigioniero’, l. 16). The whole poem revolves around the conceit of Terracina as Tansillo’s sun, and his wait beneath her balcony which has become his ‘oriente’ (l. 12) marking the arrival of dawn. Given the use of such language and conceits, it is unsurprising that myths and scurrilous stories can grow up around female poets and their interlocutors.

However, by the end of her life, Terracina was disillusioned by such playful relationships. The *Nono libro* includes a poem which cast quite a different light on how she feels about Tansillo, who had died in 1568, eight years before the manuscript collection was finished:

Chi mi darrà più odenza come suole,
Poiché s’ha tolto al tempo che viveva

²⁰⁷ *Rime seconde*, pp. 80-1.

Ottinello, Terminio, et Tarcagnota;
Di Tancillo non curo, né mi duole
De la sua morte, perché si credeva
Tener de la Fortuna in man la rota.²⁰⁸

Her tone is that of someone who has seen their friends slip away from them, and is beginning to tire of life; perhaps Tansillo had developed an attitude of which she did not approve, as her sonnet suggests. Nonetheless, despite her negative tone, Terracina continues to play out (former) relationship with important poets, and even friends, in her verse.

Despite the social risks posed by gossip and speculation, Terracina and other women in her position evidently felt it worthwhile to cultivate relationships of this kind within their local environment. It allowed them to earn respect from their peers for their literary skill, and potentially then to go to on to capitalise upon the medium of print for further social, and possible financial, gain, as we shall see in the case of Terracina. However, local friends and contacts were not always sufficient for a woman to see her works into press, and help from within the publishing industry could also be vital, as the next chapter will show.

²⁰⁸ *Nono libro*, MS Palatino 229, fol. 73^v.

II. The Journey to Print

Laura Terracina's print trajectory was unique among sixteenth-century women, and brings to light many of the tensions and questions which remain around female authorship in the period. This section will provide an overview of Terracina's list of published works, before delving more closely into her relationships with key male editors and publishers. In particular, it will look at the case of the 'pirated' *Seste rime* 1 as a way to understand the difficulty all writers, but especially women, had in controlling their work and its circulation. Finally, it will give an assessment of Terracina's agency in the round.

It is surprising that Laura Terracina succeeded in publishing as much work as she did; indeed, it is arguably even surprising that she was published at all. She was from Naples, a culturally vibrant city but not a major publishing centre, technical aptitude was not her forte, and the cultural climate in which she lived was not overly propitious for women's writing. Texts of the period construct a dichotomy between learning and chastity, so that a woman's publication was potentially incompatible with her respectability.²⁰⁹ Even texts which endorse women's intellect and potential learned contribution to society can reveal greater complexity and ambiguity upon closer reading. Perhaps the most compelling, and relevant, example of this is Ludovico Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*. Even as it invites women to 'take up the pen' – evidently a

²⁰⁹ For an overview of the status of women's writing in the period, see Cox, *Women's Writing*. For more on the *querelle des femmes*, see also day three of Baldassare Castiglione's *Il libro del cortegiano*, as well as critical texts such as *Strong Voice, Weak History*, ed. by Benson and Kirkham; *Lucrezia Marinella and the "querelle des femmes" in seventeenth-century Italy*, ed. by Paola Malpezzi Price and Christine Ristaino (Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2008); and the series introduction to the *Other Voice in Early Modern Europe* (Chicago University Press volumes).

message that Terracina took to heart – it stumbles and frets about the final effects which such power may unleash when placed in unreliable and irrational feminine hands.²¹⁰ In her most famous work, her *Discorso*, Terracina takes up the pen by using Ariosto's very words to form her own poetry, employing the *trasmutazione* form.²¹¹ However, Terracina herself, despite the confrontational stances she adopts on occasion, is also careful to defuse the 'threat' posed by her verse, claiming to write for suitably feminine reasons, not arrogance:

Non vi crediate c'habbia al Furioso
 Aguagliato il mio verso o la mia stanza:
 L'ho fatto per fuggir l'ocio noioso.²¹²

²¹⁰ For more on the *Orlando Furioso* and the *querelle des femmes*, see Alberto Casadei, 'I poeti e la questione delle donne', in *La strategia delle varianti: le correzioni storiche del terzo Furioso* (Lucca: M. Pacini Fazzi, 1988), pp. 95-104; Deanna Shemek, 'Of Women, Knights, Arms, and Love: The Querelle des Femmes in Ariosto's Poem', *MLN*, 104 (1989), 68-97; Ita Mac Carthy, *Women and the Making of Poetry in Ariosto's Orlando Furioso* (Leicester: Troubadour Publishing, 2007); and Anna Lisa Izzo, 'Misoginia e filoginia nell'*Orlando Furioso*', *Chroniques italiannes*, I (2012), 1-24

< <http://chroniquesitaliennes.univ-paris3.fr/PDF/Web22/Izzo.pdf> > [accessed 08 April 2018]. For more on the changing figure of the female warrior in Ariosto and beyond, see Margaret Tomalin, *The Fortunes of the Warrior Heroine in Italian Literature. An Index of Emancipation* (Ravenna: Longo editore, 1982).

²¹¹ See Terracina, *Discorsi*; and for more on the *trasmutazione*, Casapullo, 'Contatti metrici fra Spagna e Italia'.

²¹² Terracina, *Rime*, p. 13r.

Women also faced the issue of how to access a poetic literary system predicated upon imitation of an authoritative male predecessor, *imitatio*.²¹³ Finding suitable formal models, in a system which privileged a male viewpoint, often in the form of the Petrarchan lover, was a challenge matched only by the scarcity of examples of women whose poetry had appeared in print. Vittoria Colonna and Veronica Gambara, discussed in the preceding chapter, are most frequently cited as exemplary predecessors for women in the second half of the sixteenth century,²¹⁴ but it would be misleading to understand Terracina's relationship with the printing press solely through the lens of these two authoritative predecessors. While they did provide important examples of women whose work appeared in print without besmirching their good name, both Colonna and Gambara were of high noble rank. As Virginia Cox notes, both Terracina and Tullia d'Aragona were 'proposed' by Venetian publisher Gabriele Giolito as successors to Colonna and Gambara following Colonna's death in 1547,²¹⁵ but in fact their relationship with the circulation of their work was quite different. As noblewomen, Colonna and Gambara enjoyed a much more elevated social position than most post-1545 female writers such as Tullia d'Aragona, Terracina, Veronica Franco and Moderata Fonte.²¹⁶ High rank allowed greater social

²¹³ See Thomas M. Greene, *The Light in Troy. Imitation and Discovery in Renaissance Poetry* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1982).

²¹⁴ For more on how Colonna in particular functioned as a model for Cinquecento poets, see Giovanna Rabitti, 'Vittoria Colonna as role model for Cinquecento women poets', in *Women in Italian Renaissance Culture*, ed. by Panizza, pp. 478-97.

²¹⁵ Cox, *Women's Writing*, p. 80. For more on Tullia d'Aragona, see Monika Antes, *Tullia d'Aragona, cortigiana e filosofa* (Florence: Polistampa, 2011); Tullia d'Aragona, *The poems and letters of Tullia d'Aragona and others*, ed. and trans. by Julia L. Hairston (Toronto: Iter inc., Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2014); and Julia L. Hairston, 'D'Aragona, Tullia' in *Encyclopedia of Women*, ed. by Robin, Larsen and Levin, pp. 26-30.

²¹⁶ We might also think of middle-class women writers in France, such as Pernette du Guillet, Louise Labé and the Dames des Roches.

freedom (indeed, *Il libro del cortegiano* suggests how women in court circles were expected to be learned and witty entertainers)²¹⁷ and they would on occasion be expected to fill ‘masculine’ roles.²¹⁸ This was not the case for middle-class women, courtesans, or those such as Terracina who hovered anxiously on the periphery of the aristocracy, whether thanks to penury, lower social rank, or both. Women such as Terracina (literally) could not afford to toy with lyric poetry as a hobby to embellish their image; they depended upon it for their livelihood. Moreover, they could not rely on high rank to ensure a warm welcome for their written works.²¹⁹ They appear much more engaged with publication of their work than their aristocratic forebears.²²⁰

A geographic dimension may also be at play in Terracina’s case, as she was the first of the Neapolitan members of the Accademia degli Incogniti to publish a solo-authored work of poetry. Her contemporary Luigi Tansillo, whom Erika Milburn suggests was indicative of a wider Neapolitan culture, was also chary of print, and the only collection of verse printed with his permission was the *Sonetti per la presa d’Africa*, but even in that case he claimed to have been pressured to publish.²²¹ For Terracina and others like her, manuscript circulation of verse, while still very important, was no longer the overwhelmingly dominant means of finding a readership, although it

²¹⁷ Baldassare Castiglione, *Il libro del cortegiano*, ed. by Giulio Carnazzi and introduced by Salvatore Battaglia, 6th edn, (Milan: BUR Rizzoli, 2010), p. 210.

²¹⁸ See day three of *Il libro del cortegiano*, especially chapter XXXIV.

²¹⁹ Cox, ‘Women writers and the canon in sixteenth-century Italy: the case of Vittoria Colonna’, in *Strong Voices, Weak History*, ed. by Benson and Kirkham, p. 22.

²²⁰ Milligan, ‘Proving Masculinity’, in *The Poetics of Masculinity*, ed. by Milligan and Tylus, p. 189.

²²¹ *Sonetti per la presa d’Africa* (Naples: Mattio Cancer, 1551); Brian Richardson, *Manuscript Culture*, p. 15; Erika Milburn, *Luigi Tansillo and Lyric Poetry in Sixteenth-Century Naples* (Leeds: Maney Publishing, for the Modern Humanities Research Association, 2003), p. 11.

remained an important stepping stone to print, as well as a way to cement local connections.

Circumstantial evidence supports the notion that both Terracina and Neapolitan bookseller-cum-agent Marcantonio Passero distributed her work in manuscript as a precursor to print. In a letter from Laura Battiferra to Benedetto Varchi, dated 1 March 1563, Battiferra writes:

Io hebbi, mentre era amalata, un sonetto della signora Laura Terracina, al quale feci la risposta, ma non gle lo mandai. Hora perch'ella m'importuna che la vuole, la mando a vostra signoria, che la vegga e molto di tutto cuore me le raccomando e le prego ogni contento.²²²

This is a glimpse of how Terracina not only sent out her work, but actively solicited responses too, while those replying were aware that their work should meet a certain poetic standard.²²³

Further evidence for the circulation of Terracina's verse in manuscript can also be gleaned from the *Rime*. Firstly, it is a highly outward-facing collection. While it lacks the immediate *proposta-risposta* pattern found in her later publications and which became increasingly popular, it is nonetheless engaged with its immediate environment, and makes clear that Terracina is already an established member of

²²² *Lettere a Benedetto Varchi (1530-1563)*, ed. by Vanni Bramanti (Rome: Vecchiarelli editore, 2012), p. 407.

²²³ The sonnet exchange between Terracina and Battiferra, which mourns the death of Eleanora di Toledo, was eventually included in the manuscript of Terracina's *Nono libro* (MS Palatino 229).

Neapolitan literary circles.²²⁴ There is an intriguing letter in her first book of *Rime*, after the end of poems authored by her, included in the section of poems ‘in lode de la Signora Laura Terracina’, which is enigmatically signed ‘Il Caudio’.²²⁵ Dated 23 December 1546, it describes how Il Caudio was struck by Terracina’s talent in Marcantonio Passero’s bookshop in Naples. What is not clear is whether Il Caudio met Terracina herself or, perhaps more intriguingly, came across a copy of her work. Passero’s bookshop has been described as a ‘ridotto’,²²⁶ but Brian Richardson has posited that ‘it is plausible that bookshops served, among other things, as places where manuscript texts and information about them were exchanged.’²²⁷ Given the early date on the letter of 1546, before Terracina’s first print publication, it seems likely that one or more manuscripts of her work were circulating around Naples’s literary scene, although to what extent she facilitated this is unknowable.

Terracina’s works in print show an implicit acceptance and negotiation of the difficulties which stood between a woman and publication in this period. Our understanding of Terracina’s attitude towards print can be furthered by consideration of the justifications she herself offers, specifically in the dedications to her works. These dedications are central to understanding how Terracina, and her editors, expected and desired her journey to print to be conceived, and her works to be read, functioning as ‘une zone non seulement de transition, mais de *transaction*’.²²⁸ Like the

²²⁴ Jaffe claims that Vittoria Colonna helped Terracina win academy membership, a seemingly unfounded claim (*Shining Eyes*, p. 166).

²²⁵ *Rime*, p. 51^v.

²²⁶ Borzelli, *Laura Terracina*, p. 11, n. 3.

²²⁷ Richardson, *Manuscript Culture*, p. 39.

²²⁸ Gérard Genette, *Seuils* (Paris: Éditions de Seuil, 1987). Genette’s analysis of paratexts is self-consciously synchronic, rather than diachronic; the introduction to *Renaissance Paratexts*, ed. by Helen Smith and Louise Wilson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), takes a

work of many, if not all, women of the period, Terracina's collections come larded with protestations of insufficiency, and modesty tropes in all their guises. Like Patricia Pender, I believe these should not be read *overly* differently in women's works than in men's works – in men's works, modesty tropes are seen for what they are, a rhetorical form. The impulse to read women's modesty tropes as solely autobiographical is a gendered double standard, and their use of modesty rhetoric better seen 'not as an acknowledgement of exclusion and a literal assertion of ineptitude, but as the very mark of literariness as it circulates among early modern protocols of textual modesty and authority'.²²⁹ It is with this in mind that I suggest we approach the dedicatory letters to Terracina's volumes, with their modesty tropes and occasional protestations of unwilling publication. As an author who published over several decades, Terracina shows an unusual range of stances in her attitude towards print: the dedicatory letters move from the presentation of a seemingly shy, retiring character, to a confident author, to a poet reluctant to take up the pen in a highly visible way once more, until Terracina's final publication again raises the vexed question of her own agency.

The dedication to Terracina's first work, the *Rime*, is written by Ludovico Domenichi,²³⁰ an important Venetian editor, whose relationship with Terracina will be

more historicised approach to the role of the paratext. For a history of the dedication more broadly in this period, see Marco Paoli, *La dedica. Storia di una strategia editoriale* (Lucca: Maria Pacini Fazzi Editore, 2009)

²²⁹ Patricia, *Early Modern Women's Writing and the Rhetoric of Modesty* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012). This is not to say some traces of a female author's life might not surface in dedicatory letters; it is just wise not to accept the words simply and at face value, an approach which might lead us to see female authors as entirely disconnected from their own publications, and not an approach that would be likely to be employed towards a male author.

²³⁰ Richardson notes that the transition from manuscript to print gave rise to this new type of paratext, the dedication or address composed by a third party (*Manuscript Culture*, p. 222).

explored in greater depth below. As though acting as a first line of defence between her and society's judgement of a headstrong woman, it gives some justification for why Terracina's work is appearing in print. Domenichi (as is 'appropriate' for a man introducing a female author) states that he was the one who decided that the work would be published. Having had the poems in question in his possession for 'parecchi mesi' he began to appreciate 'in buona parte le querele loro' and 'cominciando a conoscere il grado di quelle insieme col mio stato'; in the end, he decided that they were good enough to 'in un medesimo tempo acquistar la gratia vostra, e conservare la riputation mia con gli huomini di giudicio' (it is interesting to note, as will be discussed later, that a woman's product can be a source of reflected glory for men at this time).²³¹ However, it is clear that Domenichi's decision is not akin to those of the unscrupulous men who published Vittoria Colonna's work against her will. He claims to know that he has not 'offeso la Signora Laura, publicando le fatiche sue sotto il nome vostro, perché io mi rendo certo, che havendole io havute in mano per sua cortesia, io habbia anco potuto con tacita licenza di lei farne il voler mio'.²³² While in the case of another woman we might wonder if this is not a man appropriating a woman's work to do his will, in a culture which will put up no obstacle to his doing so, Terracina's numerous subsequent publications in fact do suggest that she is very happy to have her work introduced to a wider audience. Within the *Rime*, one verse addressed to Marcantonio Passero proudly announces the work with:

Ecco le rime, o Marco Antonio mio,
 Lequai mi comandaste ch'io facessi.²³³

²³¹ *Rime*, p. ii^v.

²³² *Rime*, p. iii^r-iii^v.

²³³ *Rime*, p. 21^r.

Although Domenichi does not mention Passero's input in the dedication, Terracina chooses to frame Passero within her poetry as both a major instigator of publication, and a close literary contact.

The three dedications to the *Seconde rime* function as an intermediary step between Terracina's work being introduced by a man alone, and her taking sole responsibility for the volume. Over the course of the three dedicatory letters it becomes apparent that Leonardo Kurz has passed on Terracina's poetry to members of the Accademia degli Incogniti for correction ('Le rime della Signora Laura Terracina, che voi Signor Lionardo ne havete mandate a correggere').²³⁴ It appears that Leonardo Kurz was an intellectual central to the Neapolitan literary scene in the years 1548-1549 and was especially involved with the Accademia degli Incogniti, with three books (including that of Terracina) dedicated to him in 1549 alone.²³⁵ Terracina's letter implies that she did not intend for her work to circulate beyond the Neapolitan academy, as was customary, but was persuaded to allow it nonetheless:

Tosto ch'intesi gratioso Signor Lionardo, che per voi erano state queste mie poche e mal composte rime a l'Amicitia de gli Incogniti raccomandate, mi persuasi ch'elleno havessero come incognite a rimanere fra quei dotti e virtuosi amici, sì perché tale è il costume di quella amicitia, che veramente questa nostra patria abbellisce, sì anco perché per molte giuste cagioni così io desiderava. Ma poichè da voi fu comandato che si dessero in luce, quantunque cosa contra ogni

²³⁴ *Rime seconde*, p. 3.

²³⁵ Benedetto di Falco, *Descrittione dei luoghi antichi di Napoli e del suo amenissimo distretto*, ed. by Tobia R. Toscano and Marcella Grippo (Naples: CUEN, 1992), p. 28.

mio voler si procurasse, non di meno ha potuto più l'imperio che sinceramente voi havete sovra di me [...] Ho dunque più tosto voluto obedir voi.²³⁶

Her negations of a wish to see her work circulate strike the tone of the typical early modern modesty trope especially prevalent among women writers. It is clear too, in the context of active literary exchange between cities and a relatively easy transition between manuscript and print, that such a transferral of her work from manuscript to print is hardly unlikely. Given that the *Seconde rime* is also highly Naples-centric, we might also think that it effectively maintains some of the important features of manuscript, such as cementing social networks as a local level, even while feeding the appetite for 'local' collections which existed at a national level.²³⁷

Within the edition itself, however, Terracina implies more strongly that it is not literary forces, but rather market forces which encouraged her to publish. In a poem addressed to Marcantonio Passero she writes that:

Voi mi spingete, o Passero gentile,
A publicare i miei contanti errori,
Perché il mio ingegno e 'l sesso femminile
Scorger non ponno gli honorati allori.²³⁸

²³⁶ *Rime seconde*, pp. 5-6.

²³⁷ As suggested by the later *Rime di diversi illustri signori napoletani, e d'altri nobilissimi ingegni. Libro settimo* (Venice: Gabriel Giolito de Ferrari, et fratelli, 1552).

²³⁸ *Rime seconde*, p. 47.

Moreover, she is clearly also still on good terms with Domenichi, praising him as the 'esca' which catches her, the 'pesce'.²³⁹ Adopting a suitably humble feminine position, Terracina in fact demonstrates how keen others are to publish her work, an implicit acknowledgement of its popularity.

By the time of the publication of the *Discorso*, Terracina's reticent pose, real or feigned, has been left by the wayside.²⁴⁰ Her desire to publish what will go on to become her most popular work by far is writ large from the moment of the dedication of the 1550 edition: 'perché haveva meco deliberato questo terzo libro delle mie, quantunque rocissime rime, sotto privato nome far venire nella luce del mondo'.²⁴¹ Although others, such as Giolito or Domenichi, doubtless still played a major part in the publication of this work, Terracina adopts the weight of it upon her own shoulders, not only deciding to publish herself and choosing her own dedicatee, Bernardino Bonifacio Marchese d'Oria,²⁴² but also refusing to allow it to be edited by anyone else after a negative experience with the well-known *poligrafo* Ludovico Dolce.²⁴³ She describes the dispute in the opening letter of post-1550 versions of the *Discorso*:

²³⁹ *Rime seconde*, p. 48.

²⁴⁰ For a detailed exploration of the dedicatees and dedications to various editions of the *Discorso* see Terracina, *Discorsi*, pp. 20-39.

²⁴¹ *Discorso*, p. 3.

²⁴² See also Terracina, *Discorsi*, p. 20.

²⁴³ In fact, there are numerous changes between the *princeps* and second edition of the *Discorso*, 'sia semplici correzioni a livello di lingua, di stile e di versificazione che mutamenti di intere ottave' (Terracina, *Discorsi*, p. 13). There are relatively few changes between the second edition and the 1554 edition, which served as the basis for the following c.25 editions (Terracina, *Discorsi*, p. 15). For more on Terracina and Dolce, see Rossella Lalli, 'In limine. La lirica femminile del Cinquecento tra paratesto e stampa (1538-1600)', in *La lirica in Italia dalle origini*

Là onde Illustrissimo Signore volendola mandar fuori, desiderai che prima si bagnasse nel dolce fonte di M. Lodovico Dolce [...] nè mi riuscì il disegno, che oltre che stette in suo potere per spatio di un'anno, non solamente nulla gustò di dolcezza, ma bevette tanto d'amaro toscano [...] ho voluto senza altrui correzione porla sotto la mia leggera emenda, e solamente purgarla dalli più biasimevoli errori.²⁴⁴

Lodovico Dolce was one of Venice's best-known writers and editors, producing a phenomenal number of works over the years he worked in close contact with Gabriel Giolito. Having begun to collaborate with Giolito in 1542, he was stated to be living at his expense in 1553.²⁴⁵ The figures on Dolce's output are startling: Terpening states that he was responsible for bringing 358 books to press.²⁴⁶ Terracina's were not the only complaints about his editorial work however; his frenetic pace must have made him at times slapdash or simply exhausted.²⁴⁷

al Rinascimento, ed. by Lorenzo Geri and Marco Grimaldi, in *Studi (e testi) italiani*, 38 (2016), 191-210.

²⁴⁴ *Rime, con il Discorso sopra il principio di tutti i canti d'Orlando furioso* (Venice: Domenico Farri, 1566), pp. 5-6.

²⁴⁵ Brian Richardson, *Printing, Readers and Writers* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 96.

²⁴⁶ Terpening cites figures compiled by Claudia di Filippo Bareggi (Ronnie H. Terpening, *Lodovico Dolce, Renaissance Man of Letters* (Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press, 1997)): 358 books breaks down into 96 editions of original works, 202 editions of works by others, 54 translations, and 6 translations/editions. Terpening also provides a detailed overview of Dolce's career.

²⁴⁷ See Terpening, p. 186, for more on Bernardo Tasso's dissatisfaction, for example.

Terracina even goes so far as to append a poem addressing Dolce to an updated edition of the *Discorso*. The poem speaks to Dolce in the second person, and is improbably humble, or else cuttingly sarcastic:

Ecco il Discorso, pur Dolce gentile,
In fretta da me visto, e non d'altrui,
E se la lingua mia fu sì virile,
Perdon vi chieggo; e s'arrogante fui,
Ch'io non sapea se'l verso femminile
Fosse degno apparir dinanzi a vui,
Pur sodisfatto ho al fin col mio sudore
A le vostre promesse, e al mio honore.²⁴⁸

Her rejection of feminine ethereality ('col mio sudore') and adoption of typically male attributes ('mio honore') go some way to showing how startlingly bold Terracina could be on occasion. For an author who has yet to truly establish herself securely, and a woman moreover, such a public swipe at Dolce is a bold move, but it also serves an important purpose. Terracina implicitly denies the stereotype of women being less skilled in letters than men, and also fights against the lazy assumption that male editors can treat female authors in any way they see fit without consequences. It marks a shift from the pose adopted in her earlier books of poetry in which she implicitly accepts this stereotype in order to adopt a suitably modest, feminine stance, for example writing to Passero that "l sesso femminile / Scorger non ponno gli honorato

²⁴⁸ *Discorso*, 1551, opening dedication, no page number. This poem is not included in the first, 1550, edition of the *Discorso*. Von Kulessa and Perocco, editors of the *Discorsi*, do not seem to detect the sarcasm with which this sonnet is laden, describing Dolce as a 'sostenitore' of Terracina (Terracina, *Discorsi*, 2017, p. 21).

allori'.²⁴⁹ Her attitude towards Dolce has certainly also changed from when she praised his 'virtù', 'dottrina' and 'gran fama' and imagined celebrating him with 'dolci rime' worthy of his 'altiere glorie'.²⁵⁰

Terracina's irritation with Dolce's disdainful treatment of her work is still strong in the 1550 *Quarte rime* – perhaps understandably so, as the *Quarte rime* were likely being prepared at a similar time to the *Discorso*. The *Discorso* was first prepared for publication in 1549, in an edition which seems to have been quite limited, described by Bongi as 'rarissima e sconosciuta alla maggior parte dei bibliografi',²⁵¹ but seems to have been finally published in 1550.²⁵² The dedication of this edition is dated the penultimate day of April, 1549. The *Discorso* was reprinted in 1550 with a second dedication, dated 1 August 1550, in which the accusations against Ludovico Dolce are made, while the *Quarte rime* were published in 1550, with a dedication dated 18 April 1550. Understandably, this has caused some confusion as the order of publication is not at first clear, although the title *Quarte rime* is in fact correct.²⁵³ Indeed, the beginning of the *Quarte rime* is unorthodox. Terracina opens it with a letter addressed to Giovanni Alfonso Mantegna di Maida, and his reply of equal length follows. It is only then that the reader finds the 'proper' dedication, that to Pietro Antonio Sanseverino,

²⁴⁹ *Rime seconde*, p. 47.

²⁵⁰ *Rime seconde*, pp. 25-6.

²⁵¹ Bongi, p. 269. The *Catalogo del Servizio Bibliotecario Nazionale* lists a copy of this edition in the Biblioteca Angelica (Rome, classmark not found) and the Biblioteca dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiniana (Rome, classmark: 130.D.3.). Edit16 lists a third copy in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (classmark not found). OPAC Italia lists a damaged fourth copy in the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale in Florence (classmark: RARI.Landau Finaly 407).

²⁵² The edition reads '*in fine* 1550' on its endpage.

²⁵³ For example, Ronnie H. Terpening states that Terracina sent Ludovico Dolce her *Discorso* a year after the *Quarte rime* upset (*Lodovico Dolce*, p. 186), which is incorrect.

which is much more in keeping with a typical dedication of the time. In her letter to Mantegna, Terracina excoriates Dolce's lack of work and states that as a result she was:

quasi in tutto disanimata di mai più dare in luce cosa alcuna et già haveva deliberato questa mia ultima compositione tenerla perpetuamente rinchiusa, se non fusse ch'ella sotto la speranza della vostra correttione m'ha spesso sollecitata di volere appresentarsi ne i giuditii de gli huomini.²⁵⁴

Once again, Terracina retreats to the relatively safer ground of using a male figure to 'protect' her from those who would criticise either her decision to publish or her writing skills.

In the *Quinte rime*, the author strikes a different tone once more. A short dedication at the front of the work ostensibly dedicates it to Herina Scanderbech, although on closer inspection the real object of praise is Scanderbech's husband Pietro Antonio Sanseverino. It is at the close of the work that a more personal tone emerges. In a letter to Mantegna once more, Terracina writes:

Imperochè dipoi (mercè della vostra infinita bontade) che diedi in luce le mie quarte rime, deliberai non voler più mandar fuori cosa che'n stampa si vedesse; e nondimeno al presente mi ritrovo da certi pungevoli spruni costretta a rappresentar negli altrui alcune cose che 'l mio povero ingegno, non è già lungo tempo, ha prodotto. Il primo ch'a ciò mi sospinga è l'obbligo infinito ch'ho di celebrare [...] la real eccellenza della Illustrissima Signora Herina Scanderbec

²⁵⁴ *Quarte rime*, p. 2^r.

[...] L'altra è la continua sollecitudine di M. Loigi Valvassorio [...] il quale nelle sue lettere sempre mi ricerca delle mie compositioni per farle imprimere.²⁵⁵

For the first time, Terracina explicitly states that her publisher is putting her under pressure to produce more works, presumably because they sell so well. Giovan Andrea Valvassori,²⁵⁶ unlike the farsighted Giolito, seems to have excelled at picking up authors once they became popular successes, and then making a profit of them; presumably he hoped there was much profit yet to be made from Terracina. It seems likely that this was the talent which earned him the nickname 'Guadagnino', 'money-spinner'.²⁵⁷

The *Seste rime* 1 present a more involved case, which will be discussed in greater depth below, due to the fact that Terracina sent them to be published under the care of Vincenzo Arnolfini, a citizen of Lucca, presumably in conjunction with the publisher Busdraghi (whose name is on the 1558 edition). The poetry was printed in 1558 without Terracina's knowledge or, it would seem, any profits reaching her. In turn, the 'authorised' edition was published in 1560 in Naples, where presumably Terracina could be more involved with the process. The dedications to both the 1558 and 1560 works help us to understand Terracina's attitude to publishing her work at this point.

²⁵⁵ *Quinte rime*, p. 61^r.

²⁵⁶ Spellings of this name vary, including in the *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*. For clarity, Giovan Andrea Valvassori is used here as it is the closest to the forms used by Terracina.

²⁵⁷ Crivelli, 'The Print Tradition', in *A Companion to Vittoria Colonna*, ed. by Brundin, Crivelli and Sapegno, p. 106. For more on Valvassori, see his entry in the *Dizionario biografico dei Friulani*, < <http://www.dizionariobiograficodeifriulani.it/valvassori-vavassori-giovan-andrea-detto/> > [accessed 17 October 2017].

In the 'pirated' edition,²⁵⁸ Terracina's ventriloquised voice states that she was eager to 'mandare in luce queste mie compositioni' and thus 'io ne habbia domandato consiglio all'honorato M. Vincentio Arnolfini'.²⁵⁹ In her own, lengthier explanation of how her work came to be published in a form without her approval (or at first her knowledge) Terracina reveals that she came under pressure from multiple directions to publish a work she had already completed:

havendola dico ridotta a termine, che ne restava il debole mio giuditio sodisfatto, non teneva altrimenti per alhora pensiero di mandarla a luce, quando ecco un giorno, i prieghi di Messer Marc'antonio passero, e del signor Polidoro Terracina tirati da un gran sforzo di Messer Martin picchinucci mi possero in animo d'inviarla ad un certo messer Vincenzo Arnolfini da Lucca [...] Et in vero quello, che più mi ci inchinò la volontà, fu una lettera del detto messer Vincenzo piena di tante offerte e di tante sommissioni.²⁶⁰

Her statement that she was not really thinking of publishing before pressure was put upon her rings false, but it is clear nonetheless that a number of figures were invested in her continuing literary output, and that it was not her decision alone whether to publish or not.

The *Settime rime*, from 1561, arguably shows the traces of a reaction to the debacle of both editions of the *Seste rime*. A highly local publication addressed to the widows of

²⁵⁸ I will use the term 'pirated' to describe the *Seste rime 1* published by Busdraghi, as the best available. It does not quite convey the complexity of the situation however, as Terracina herself had consented to publication with that publisher, she just clearly expected some sort of payment too.

²⁵⁹ *Seste rime 1*, p. 11.

²⁶⁰ *Seste rime 2*, pp. ii-iii.

Naples, its author seeks to provide a tangible good: reassuring these (theoretically) distraught women that their husbands are with God, and that they should accept death as a 'natural, e necessaria' part of His plan.²⁶¹ The impression is of an author in control of her publication, but wary of attack; notably Terracina apologises 'S'altre sian maritate, altre sian morte' of the widows in the time since she composed her poetry, as though she fears being criticised for being untimely or insensitive.

With the *Discorso sulla seconda parte*, first published in 1567,²⁶² the dedication's tone moves from feigned reluctance to active distress. Rather than her husband and publishers encouraging and helping with something she is keen to do anyway, see her books into print, the situation seems to become one in which her gender, which has contributed so much to her commercial success, acts against her. This was the first work she had published for six years; it is very possible that her priorities or will to write had altered in this time, especially given the increasingly rigid social climate, with its emphasis upon orthodoxy and strict control of women's behaviour. As a second-class citizen, she had little choice but to do as her husband wished, in this case to keep writing even when she desired to renounce the pen:

Io m'era deliberata più giorni fa di lasciare una tanto inutile fatica a questi assortati ingegni e ben nati pensieri. Venuto a Napoli M. Luigi Valvassori, pregò il Signor Polidoro Terracina che mi dovesse pregare, anzi, se possibile fosse, sforzarmi, ch'io dovessi seguitar di far i discorsi sopra le seconde stanze de i principii de i canti del Furioso [...] Ma io per la ragion sudetta non voleva altrimenti por la penna a tal esercizio in modo alcuno, aggiungendosi che per

²⁶¹ *Settime rime*, opening dedication, no page number.

²⁶² Published alongside a 'definitive' edition of the first *Discorso*, 'che restituisce il testo con l'ultima volontà dell'autrice' (Terracina, *Discorsi*, p. 15).

esser io homai vecchia l'ingegno m'ha quasi lasciato, oltre ch'io non bramo, nè voglio più questi fumi del mondo [...] Essendo dunque pregata dal detto Signor P. c'havessi posto da parte ogni deliberatione, e essendo, sapete, le preghiere de gl'huomini espressi comandamenti alle lor donne, mi fu forza contro ogni mia voglia seguire il voler suo.²⁶³

Although, as we have seen, it is typical to make a display of reluctance about casting one's work into the public eye, this dedication rings differently from others, and 'lascia trasparire decisi elementi di verità'.²⁶⁴ No longer slightly coy, it instead seems that the female author of the *Discorso* has found herself caught in a trap: having abandoned the distaff and seized the pen, she is still under male control, bound to do the bidding of those who would use her as a cash cow (not terribly successfully in this case, given the apparent relative failure of the *Seconda parte*).

The *Nono libro*, unpublished at the time of her death but seemingly prepared for publication, complicates the image of Terracina's attitude towards publication later in life. In a dedicatory letter dated 1577, so a decade after her previous work, her attitude seems to have matured once more. The letter returns to the formality typical of the era, and uses the common trope of the author claiming a desire to publish merely to celebrate their dedicatee: thus, 'hoggi via più che mai abonda il desiderio di honorare, lodare e celebrare la bontà, la virtù e la grandezza degli heroi illustrissimi'.²⁶⁵ Her work is framed as having changed, however, reflecting the fact that her dedicatees are men of the cloth, and that the post-Tridentine climate favoured religious, or 'spiritual', works. She no longer includes poetry on the subject of 'cose amevoli' or 'cose

²⁶³ *Seconda parte*, opening dedication, no page number.

²⁶⁴ Terracina, *Discorsi*, 2017, p. 31.

²⁶⁵ Montella, p. 57.

d'humani discorsi', instead limiting herself to encomiastic poetry praising clergymen.²⁶⁶ Nonetheless, upon closer inspection it seems that such terrestrial concerns are not easy to shake off, as will be explored in greater depth in the final chapter of this dissertation.

Although the manuscript is dated 1577, it is clear that the collection is compiled from lyric poetry which Terracina has been writing for some decades. A number of poems commemorate the deaths of personages from years previously,²⁶⁷ while we know from the correspondence of Laura Battiferra that her sonnet exchange with Terracina dates from 1563.²⁶⁸ A number of the spiritual sonnets had also previously been published in *Seste rime* 1 (but not in the 1560 edition, as discussed below). Although Terracina's *Settime rime* had a restricted apostrophised readership of Neapolitan widows, and the dedication to the *Seconda parte* (1567) claimed her reluctance to publish, the *Nono libro* allows a different picture of the seemingly fallow years from the early 1550s. Rather than the frantic pace of publication which she had previously known, Terracina seems to have been focusing on a more targeted manuscript circulation of her works – poetry which later was compiled into the *Nono libro*. This is a clear example of the dangers of privileging print as a record of female authorship over manuscript.²⁶⁹

²⁶⁶ Montella, p. 57.

²⁶⁷ For instance, Isabella, wife of Charles V, died in 1539 (*Nono libro*, MS Palatino 229, fols 57^v-58^r); Cardinal Pietro Bembo died in 1547 (*Nono libro*, MS Palatino 229, fols 66^v-66^{a.r}); Queen Mary I of England, wife of Philip II of Spain died in 1558 (*Nono libro*, MS Palatino 229, fol. 56^v).

²⁶⁸ *Lettere*, ed. by Bramanti, p. 407.

²⁶⁹ On female authors and the significance of manuscript and/or print circulation of texts, see Cox, *Women's Writing*, pp. 80-91. On the relationship between manuscript and print, see Richardson, *Manuscript Culture*.

Collaboration and control

A major question hangs over the study of Terracina's works, and in particular over her early career. It is almost impossible to know definitively quite why she originally began to publish her works, particularly in a city as far off as Venice. Typically, very little agency has been ascribed to Terracina. The dominant narrative is that she was plucked from relative obscurity by a canny bookseller-cum-agent, Marcantonio Passero, and by an editor, Ludovico Domenichi, and then transformed into a marketing success to the extent that she is described as a product of the press. Virginia Cox argues that it would 'be difficult to account for [Terracina's early works] as fully authorial productions, even by the notably elastic standards of the day'²⁷⁰ and that 'Terracina, more clearly than any other female writer of the century, may be seen as a virtual creation of the press'.²⁷¹ This does not, however, fully account for Terracina's academy membership and participation in Neapolitan literary circles before her first publication of 1548, as evidenced, for example, by the letter from 'Il Caudio' in the 1548 *Rime* dated 1546, in which he describes himself as struck by Terracina's talent. Deanna Shemek's assessment of the situation is more nuanced: 'la scrittrice si rivela agente e strumento, nel ruolo simultaneo di collaboratrice disponibile e di pedina riluttante'.²⁷² I would argue, moreover, that it is important not to understate Terracina's role in the works published under her name, and the extent to which her own voice rings through. There were a number of women writing in Naples at the time, and maybe a number more skilled at the pen than Terracina, which begs the question: was there something special about her that made her a prime choice for publication? It seems more than likely that she was already enjoying success in Naples for her literary work.

²⁷⁰ Cox, *Women's Writing*, p. 83.

²⁷¹ Cox, *Lyric Poetry*, p. 25.

²⁷² Shemek, 'Laura Terracina', in *Liriche del Cinquecento*, ed. by Farnetti and Fortini, p. 171.

Although born of noble blood, Terracina was financially insecure, and may well have depended upon print as an important source of monetary support, which would have been an incentive for her to seek publication. Dedications to her later works tell us that her husband and publisher put pressure upon her to publish, presumably for financial reasons. She is forced to renounce any decision-making regarding her own future: 'Essendo dunque pregata dal detto Signor Polidoro c'havessi posto da parte ogni deliberatione, e essendo, sapete, le preghiere de gl'huomini espresso comandamenti alle lor donne, mi fu forza contra ogni mia voglia seguire il volere suo'.²⁷³

Terracina's publication in print, rather than manuscript, was of central importance to her – and her publisher's – whole strategy for transforming her name into a marketable commodity. While previous writers' dedications to one patron aimed at reward from that one individual, with the dedicatee receiving the boon of having their name widely publicised and praised, Terracina's approach of dedicating the vast majority of her poetry to a wide range of individuals from social and literary circles in the Italian peninsula and beyond allowed her to appeal to far more people. Not only would those lauded themselves be enticed to buy the volume, but also readers hoping to view in microcosm the literary circles in which Terracina moved (and in which they may have hoped to be included one day). Terracina's patronage strategy succeeded not because she wooed one ultra-patron such as Cosimo de' Medici, but instead because she sold to a vast range of people outside the upper social class. In turn, the growing importance of the middle and lower classes as consumers of printed items – from the cheapest pamphlets to more extravagant book purchases – legitimised authors who were themselves not from the highest echelons of society.²⁷⁴

²⁷³ *Seconda parte*, opening dedication, no page number.

²⁷⁴ See Arthur F. Marotti, 'Patronage, Poetry, and Print', *The Yearbook of English Studies*, 21 (1991), 1-26 (p. 2) on the growing importance of a mass readership. For more on this, see also chapter three.

In order to reach this broad public, however, Terracina needed help from contacts embedded in the world of publication and the presses. The importance of Marcantonio Passero in helping her to connect with Venetian literary and publishing circles must be acknowledged.²⁷⁵ Passero publicized Terracina through his bookshop, encouraged her to publish and provided a point of contact between her and Domenichi, and also more broadly functioned as literary agent for many Neapolitan authors.²⁷⁶ We might understand him as one of many early modern ‘brokers’ of some form: ‘[t]he broker, variously defined, was a ubiquitous Renaissance figure – he might be a *sensale* or matchmaker [...] who moved in and around a patronage process that mediated, controlled, and expressed power and influence through a shifting realm of social forces and bonds’.²⁷⁷ He introduced Terracina to many of the right people,

²⁷⁵ Deanna Shemek and Irma Jaffe both seem to confuse the Neapolitan bookseller and agent Marcantonio Passero with the more well-known Marcantonio Passero (1491-1563) who was a Genoese professor of philosophy at the University of Padua (‘Laura Terracina’, in *Liriche del Cinquecento*, ed. by, Monica Farnetti and Laura Fortini, p. 176; *Shining Eyes*, p. 165). His actual place of birth seems to have caused some confusion: he is variously referred to as from Lucca (Louise George Clubb and William G. Clubb, ‘Building a Lyric Canon: Gabriel Giolito and the Rival Anthologists, 1545-1590. Part 1’, *Italica*, 68 (1991), 332-44 (p. 339)) and as implicitly from Naples (Croce, *Storie e leggende napoletane*, p. 242); Cox refers to him as Naples-based (*Women’s Writing*, p. 82) which is certainly the case. The most cohesive collection of information on Passero is the useful, if flawed, Angelo Borzelli, *Marcantonio Passero*.

²⁷⁶ See in particular his note to the 1558 edition of Luigi Tansillo’s *Stanze*, which he edited and apparently published without the author’s permission (Erika Milburn, ‘‘Come sculptor che scopra i grand’arte in picciol’opra’: Luigi Tansillo and a miniature canzoniere in the *Rime di diversi* of 1552’, *Italian Studies*, 56 (2001), 4-29 (p. 11)).

²⁷⁷ F.W. Kent and Patricia Simons, ‘Renaissance Patronage: An Introductory Essay’, in *Patronage, Art and Society in Renaissance Italy*, ed. by F.W. Kent, Patricia Simons and J.C. Eade (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), pp. 1-21 (p. 19).

smoothed her path to publication, and at the same time would have benefited from the social lustre of such a popular author.

Angelo Borzelli energetically describes him thus: 'Marcantonio Passero, per Napoli, fu un creator di energie, un suscitator d'opere, un centro, a cui mettevano capo, di fuori, quanto avevano bisogno di viver con le attività del loro ingegno'.²⁷⁸ Biographical details on Passero are scarce, and the panorama of his life and work has largely to be assembled from his traces in the literary works of others. In the collection *Rime di diversi signori napoletani... Libro settimo*,²⁷⁹ compiled by Domenichi, the editor Girolamo Ruscelli makes clear the importance of Passero's collaboration in sourcing Neapolitan poetry.²⁸⁰ Niccolò Franco and Fabrizio Luna are among others who used Passero's services,²⁸¹ but Ruscelli in particular is a useful source for understanding Passero's role. Ruscelli explicitly names Passero as a source for the poetry found in *Rime di diversi signori napoletani*, but also for a 1552 edition of the *Decameron*.²⁸² Despite the important role he played in connecting two cultural centres, surprisingly little is

²⁷⁸ Marcantonio Passero, p. 4.

²⁷⁹ *Rime di diversi illustri signori napoletani, e d'altri nobilissimi ingegni. Libro settimo* (Venice: Gabriel Giolito de Ferrari, et fratelli, 1552).

²⁸⁰ Giovanna Rabitti, 'Foto di Gruppo. Uno sguardo sulle "Rime di diversi signori napoletani e d'altri nuovamente raccolte et impresse. Libro settimo" (1556)', in *La lirica del Cinquecento. Seminario di studi in memoria di Cesare Bozzetti*, ed. by Renzo Cremante (Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso, 2004), pp. 155-76 (pp. 161-62).

²⁸¹ Rabitti, 'Foto di gruppo', in *La lirica del Cinquecento*, ed. by Cremante, pp. 161, 163.

²⁸² Ruscelli describes how Passero provides texts by Neapolitan authors to publishers in both the *Il Decamerone [...] nuovamente alla sua intera perfezione non meno alla scrittura che nelle parole ridotto per Girolamo Ruscelli* (Venice: Valgrisi, 1552), p. 339, and *Rime di diversi signori napoletani [...] Libro settimo* (Venice: Giolito, 1556), p. 4^v. See Milburn, 'Come scultor', for further discussion of Passero's role in relation to Luigi Tansillo.

known of Passero. Rabitti claims that Terracina 'è stata una vera e propria 'invenzione' di Marc'Antonio, che fino al 1555-57 circa la segue esattamente come un modern *manager*'.²⁸³ This interpretation is in line with that of Borzelli, who claims 'Marcantonio Passero crea proprio, e quasi dal nulla, Laura Terracina e per un pezzo ne fa una cosa vitale'.²⁸⁴ As will be explored, however, this underestimates the force of Terracina's own personality and her own will to publish, not to mention underplaying the extent to which her own concerns are reflected in her poetry. It is also telling how many different men – Domenichi, Passero, Giolito – were supposedly the one to 'create' Terracina.

Indeed, along with Passero it is the aforementioned Ludovico Domenichi who is most frequently credited with 'creating' Terracina as a literary phenomenon. Ludovico Domenichi was at the heart of the Venetian publishing industry, and throughout his career he showed an interest in women writers. This is shown, for example, by his inclusion of three, then five women in the 1545 *Rime diverse di molti eccellentissimi autori nuovamente raccolte* and subsequent editions,²⁸⁵ his 1549 *La nobiltà delle donne*,²⁸⁶ and his compilation of women's poetry, *Rime diverse d'alcune nobilissime et virtuosissime donne*, published in 1559 by Busdraghi.²⁸⁷ Notably, the first publication of Terracina's poetry was under his editorship, in the second edition of *Rime diverse* from 1546, so an important role can be attributed to him in her route to literary fame. This poem,

²⁸³ Rabitti, 'Foto di gruppo', in *La lirica del Cinquecento*, ed. by Cremante, p. 166.

²⁸⁴ Borzelli, *Laura Terracina*, p. 10.

²⁸⁵ *Rime diverse di molti eccellentissimi autori nuovamente raccolte* (Venice: Gabriel Giolito de Ferrari, 1545).

²⁸⁶ *La nobiltà delle donne* (Venice: Gabriel Giolito de Ferrari, 1549).

²⁸⁷ Although published under his own name, Domenichi plagiarized most of this work. See Deanna Shemek, 'Collector's Cabinet', in *Strong Voices, Weak History*, ed. by Benson and Kirkham, p. 240. See also Cox, *Women's Writing*, p. 105.

‘Bench’io vi scriva, ancor non vi conosco’,²⁸⁸ is a statement of literary intent on Terracina’s part, establishing her admiration for writers and literary figures, and explicitly praising Domenichi as an inspiration. It is also a *trasmutazione* of *Orlando Furioso* XXXV. 25, showing that Terracina was already using this form and developing a literary relationship with authoritative male predecessors.

It is interesting, on the other hand, that Terracina is not included in Domenichi’s 1559 *Rime diverse d’alcune... donne*, despite being the best-selling female poet of the day. This collection of poetry showcases female authors from across Italy, although with a strong bias towards Tuscany, especially Siena. Deanna Shemek, in her chapter ‘The Collector’s Cabinet: Ludovico Domenichi’s Gallery of Women’, explores how the work was both a way for Domenichi to champion women and an important means of exposure for women who could not or did not aspire to single-author collections (as well as a fascinating resource for critics today), but also an instrument for Domenichi to burnish to his own image. Several of the poems included are addressed directly to him, and his responses are appended, so that his image is firmly imprinted upon the work. In his *risposta* poem to Livia Torniella Bonromea, for example, Domenichi implies that he was very much the one to allow Bonromea to separate herself from the ‘volgar schiera’ by publishing her poem.²⁸⁹

Terracina is notable by her absence, as are other well-known women writers including Tullia d’Aragona (likely due to her courtesan status), Laura Battiferra and Chiara Matraini. One explanation is that Domenichi was sensitive to the risk of market saturation: with Terracina’s work so widely available anyway, there was the risk that

²⁸⁸ *Rime diverse*, pp. 263-65.

²⁸⁹ Shemek, ‘Collector’s Cabinet’, in *Strong Voices, Weak History*, ed. by Benson and Kirkham, pp. 249-50.

readers would not want to buy it under another name. Terracina herself may also have been reluctant to see her work used for a collection from which she would not profit financially. Deanna Shemek also advances the compelling argument that these large early lyric anthologies reflect a 'culture of collecting', meaning editors aimed to be inclusive, 'broadening their collection', rather than selective with an eye to creating a canon.²⁹⁰ The collection does also showcase a largely noble collection of women: neither Terracina, Battiferra nor Matraini had strong claims to aristocratic status.

The vital importance of male support within this female-centric collection demonstrates how Terracina was not alone in treading a fine line between independence and appreciation for her literary skill, and dependence upon male supporters and shields. In *Rime diverse d'alcune... donne*, as in Terracina's works, this ambivalent attitude is represented most succinctly in the dedication. Domenichi evidently intends to reiterate women's merits and promote their work (while enjoying the profits of their commercial popularity), but a book such as this is an invaluable opportunity to form or cement social bonds, and is dedicated to a man, Giannoto Castiglione, instead of a woman. Shemek also notes Zaja's theory that the dedication to Castiglione, who was from Milan and had strong Spanish ties, was an attempt to give the work an international readership.²⁹¹ Whether we accept this idea or not, the fact remains that no woman could be found capable of fulfilling the social aspirations which Domenichi harboured for his work.

Terracina's relationship with Domenichi seems to have begun very positively within a midcentury atmosphere of relative inclusion and encouragement. Put in contact by

²⁹⁰ Shemek, 'Collector's Cabinet', in *Strong Voices, Weak History*, ed. by Benson and Kirkham, p. 245.

²⁹¹ Shemek, 'Collector's Cabinet', in *Strong Voices, Weak History*, ed. by Benson and Kirkham, p. 244.

Marcantonio Passero, the early years of collaboration between the two seem to have been strikingly fruitful, but they later appear to have drifted apart. It is Domenichi who writes the dedication to the first volume of Terracina's *Rime*, acting as her guarantor as she is launched for the first time on to the literary scene. His position was a strong one from which to offer her support: he was a respected member of literary circles, an experienced editor, and a well-known name. Moreover, he was recognised as a figure of the Venetian literary scene, which would have been important for establishing confidence in a 'foreign' figure such as the Neapolitan Terracina.

His praise of Terracina and her work in the dedication is understandably fulsome, describing the poet as 'valorosa' and her poetry as among his 'più care cose', and indeed lends the weight of his own personal endorsement to her ideas by saying that he has 'preso in buona parte le querele loro'.²⁹² What is striking, however, if not entirely unexpected, is the highly homosocial and transactional quality of the dedication, so that the female author is left as a third party to her own work. Domenichi takes responsibility for the publication of her texts under the name of a suitable recipient, 'ho meco stesso deliberando preso partito di provvedere di dignissimo albergo alle rime della valorosa Signora Laura Terracina', but only after having held them for 'parecchi mesi'.²⁹³ Although Terracina's reaction to his slow response goes unrecorded, from her later disdain for editors who tarry in publishing her work we can imagine that it would not have been overwhelmingly positive. Domenichi spends the majority of this dedication praising his dedicatee to the skies, describing the 'grande honore' his name brings to the collection.²⁹⁴ Moreover, Domenichi explicitly states that the opportunity to dedicate Terracina's collection is his own personal opportunity to 'in un medesimo tempo acquistar la gratia vostra, e

²⁹² *Rime*, pp. ii^r-ii^v.

²⁹³ *Rime*, p. ii^r.

²⁹⁴ *Rime*, p. iii^v.

conservare la reputation mia con gli huomini di giudicio'.²⁹⁵ Terracina's work seems to be reduced to no more than a tool or a unit of currency within the male economy of gifts and praise.

Within the body of Terracina's first volume of poetry, the portrayal of Domenichi is similar. She lauds him in several poems, describing him as 'chiaro e divino' and reassuring him that 'di Vinegia sin qui sona il toscano / Vostro leggiadro stile e pellegrino'.²⁹⁶ The phrases used to describe him as 'gentil, magnanimo, e humano', 'dotto, cortese, e di valor eletto' are, while highly adulatory, also rather typical of encomiastic poetry of the era.²⁹⁷ More unusual, however, is Terracina's treatment of his verse in praise of her. Although none of Domenichi's verse is actually included in Terracina's volume, her frequent references to it make the reader aware that Domenichi had surely written in eloquent praise of Terracina. She claims to have 'acquistato [...] perpetua fama, / Non per le mie, ma per le vostre rime',²⁹⁸ but the truly far-reaching claim is her comparison of Domenichi with Petrarch and herself with Laura, to the detriment of the more famous pairing:

Laura non hebbe mai sì bella fama,
Benchè il gran Tosco la mettesse in cielo,
Perché l'amor di lui le scema di lode,
Quanto mi dan honor le vostre rime.²⁹⁹

²⁹⁵ *Rime*, p. ii^v.

²⁹⁶ *Rime*, p. 26^v.

²⁹⁷ *Rime*, p. 28^r.

²⁹⁸ *Rime*, p. 48^v.

²⁹⁹ *Rime*, p. 49^r.

Thus far, Terracina's attitude towards Domenichi is that which would be expected, complimentary of his literary skill and grateful towards him for the opportunities he has given her (much like the women included in his *Rime diverse d'alcune... donne*). In reality, however, her attitude towards him is more ambiguous, leaving room for an interpretation which is not entirely positive. In her first poem to him, she frames herself as one who is unafraid to establish herself in opposition to prevailing cultural beliefs and behaviour: 'E benché donna io sia, contra il desio / Adoro i dotti, e gli scrittori anco io'.³⁰⁰ In the third stanza her tone becomes accusatory:

O quanti son d'honore in tutto privi,
Che di virtù si potrian dir radici.
Quanti ne trovo che fur sempre schivi
Di servir donne, e son lor detti amici.
Credo ciò che favoleggiando scrivi,
Maron diverso sia da quel che dici,
Et mal la verità si paragona,
Come la tuba di Virgilio suona.³⁰¹

The object of Terracina's attack here, the 'detti amici' of women, is not clear. The rest of the poem deals with authors and their unreliability, accusing them of blackening the names of both men and women who did not deserve it. Why is this of relevance to Domenichi? Is he a true friend to women, and so likely to condemn those who only pay lip service to supporting women's opportunities and talent? Or is he a false friend, whose fame and good name belie a more selfish attitude than he admits? The final verse of her last poem to Domenichi in the collection maintains an ambivalent

³⁰⁰ *Rime*, p. 26^v.

³⁰¹ *Rime*, p. 27^r.

approach to publication. Although she has in the lines before seemingly happily acknowledged the ‘eterna lode’³⁰² which Domenichi’s verse has given her, she does not foresee a happy outcome for herself:

Qualunque fia che per caso, o per forza,
Legga giamai queste mie incolte rime,
Benché l’honor e ’l giudicio lo sforza
Sì che convien ch’assai poco le stime,
Pur lo prego io che non passi la scorza
Che l’ignoranza mia dentro s’imprime;
E se giovane, indotta, e donna io sono,
Né principio né fin posso haver buono.³⁰³

Despite Domenichi’s support, it appears that Terracina’s good fortune can only take her so far.

Although Domenichi’s input into the *Seconde rime* is not explicit, it seems likely that he nevertheless had a hand in publication, even if editing mainly fell to Lionardo Kurz and members of the Incogniti as stated by the dedication – Toscano describes Kurz as ‘principale artefice e regista’³⁰⁴ of the *Seconde rime*, and Shemek suggests Kurz commissioned the work.³⁰⁵ The *Seconde rime* was published in 1549 by Lorenzo

³⁰² *Rime*, p. 49^r.

³⁰³ *Rime*, p. 49^r.

³⁰⁴ Benedetto di Falco, pp. 22-3.

³⁰⁵ *Ladies Errant*, p. 128.

Torrentino in Florence,³⁰⁶ which at first seems an unexpected place of publication, given the Neapolitan subject matter of the work and Terracina's previous links to Venice. However, although Domenichi had arrived in Venice around 1540 and established himself well, from 1545 his reputation in the city had begun to deteriorate. His work with Giolito had made him somewhat notorious, and he was also the subject of bitter envy from other male writers and editors.³⁰⁷ Quondam writes that Domenichi found a warm welcome in Florence from March 1546, working as a corrector first with Giunti then in a new publishing house established by Doni. Around mid 1547 Cosimo de' Medici summoned the Flemish Lorenzo Torrentino to Florence with the intention of establishing a 'stamperia d'importanza'. A strong friendship and collaboration developed between Domenichi, Torrentino, and a third man, corrector Arnolfo Arlenio.³⁰⁸ From 1547 to 1552 Domenichi worked incessantly for Torrentino as well as, we can surmise from Terracina's first *Rime*, for Giolito on occasion. In 1548 Domenichi published his *Facetie, et Motti argute di alcuni eccellentissimi ingegni, et nobilissimi Signori* at Torrentino's press, dedicated to Sebastiano Kurz, who was the brother of Lionardo Kurz and frequently mentioned in Terracina's *Seconde rime*.³⁰⁹ Thus, we can surmise it was Domenichi who placed Terracina's work with Torrentino, bringing her with him from Giolito. A group of literary figures are constantly interacting in a mutually flattering game of correspondence in print.

³⁰⁶ Torrentino is typically listed as the publisher of the *Rime seconde*, but I have not found external evidence for this. Edit16 lists Torrentino as the publisher but Moreni's *Annali* do not, although this work does contain a number of omissions.

³⁰⁷ Amedeo Quondam, *Le corti farnesiane di Parma e Piacenza 1545-1622. Tomo 2: forme e istituzioni della produzione culturale* (Rome: Bulzoni editore, 1978), pp. 172, 178.

³⁰⁸ Quondam, *Le corti farnesiane*, p. 179.

³⁰⁹ Quondam, *Le corti farnesiane*, p. 181. In total, there are 19 poems to or on behalf of Sebastiano and Lionardo Kurz in the *Rime seconde*.

After Passero and Domenichi, the third crucial figure of Terracina's early years in print is Gabriele Giolito (?1500-1578), Venice's foremost publisher of the Cinquecento. While Aldo Manuzio had made Venice a centre of printing excellence from the later Quattrocento by privileging high quality scholarship and formats, Giolito was a printer-publisher who realised the potential of the mass public to purchase books.³¹⁰ His rate of output was extraordinary: of the 14,000 editions published in Venice in the sixteenth century, Giolito produced roughly one thousand, against an average printer's output of 20 or 30 books during the whole duration of the business.³¹¹ Until 1555 Giolito focused on original titles, but from that year the number of reprints overtook the number of new works, even as the market for religious, as opposed to amorous, literary, or historical texts grew under the influence of the Council of Trent.³¹² One major element of his success was the strong relationships he forged with Venice's *poligrafi*, intellectuals who composed works of their own as well as being assiduous translators and editors. One of the most well known of these is in fact Ludovico Domenichi, who began his career as an editor and translator in Venice working for Giolito from 1543, enjoying the publication of a volume of his own poetry in 1544.³¹³

³¹⁰ For a detailed history of Giolito and his print output, see Nuova and Coppens, *I Giolito e la stampa nell'Italia del XVI secolo* (Geneva: Droz, 2005); see also *Libri, editori e pubblica nell'Europa moderna. Guida storica e critica*, ed. by Armando Petrucci (Rome and Bari: Editori Laterza, 1977).

³¹¹ Terpening, p. 12.

³¹² Quondam, "'Mercanzia d'onore" "Mercanzia d'utile". Produzione libraria e lavoro intellettuale a Venezia nel Cinquecento' in *Libri, editori e pubblico nell'Europa moderna*, ed. by Petrucci, pp. 51-104 (p. 69).

³¹³ Shemek, 'Collector's Cabinet', in *Strong Voices, Weak History*, ed. by Benson and Kirkham, p. 240.

Both Domenichi and Giolito were important supporters of women on Venice's literary scene. As both men were realising, in the early modern period, as now, a unique selling point was vital for a book's success. Giolito's major innovation in that direction was creating his *collane* of *rime*, poetry anthologies, then capitalising on the 'outsider' factor of authors of unusual geographical origin: the third, later renamed the fifth, book in the series, *Rime di diversi illustri signori napoletani e d'altri nobilissimi intelletti; nuovamente raccolte, et non piu stampate. Terzo libro*³¹⁴ could be compared to the 1559 collection of women's writing edited by Domenichi, *Rime diverse d'alcune... donne* in that both works highlighted a usually marginalised group. The male northern-centric literary model almost fetishized the Other even as it tendentially excluded outside voices from mainstream society and discourse. The importance of Giolito as a promotor of women's works – a highly practical and pragmatic one – is not to be underestimated. In his *La nobiltà delle donne* (1549), Ludovico Domenichi describes Giolito as 'devoto delle Donne, per tutte le sue costumate attioni, spetialmente per procurare ogni dì che dalle sue bellissime stampe escono in luce & nelle mani del mondo le lodi del sesso Donnesco'.³¹⁵

Alongside Domenichi, one of Giolito's most frequent collaborators was another noted and prolific *poligrafo*, Ludovico Dolce. By the time of the *Discorso* and *Quarte rime* around 1550, Terracina seems to have been working less closely with Domenichi, still with Giolito, and attempting to work with Dolce. Although no direct correspondence between them has been found, Dolce first started collaborating with Giolito in 1542

³¹⁴ *Rime di diversi illustri signori napoletani e d'altri nobilissimi intelletti; nuovamente raccolte, et non piu stampate. Terzo libro* (Venice: Gabriel Giolito de Ferrari, et fratelli, 1552).

³¹⁵ Cited in Androniki Dialeti, 'The Publisher Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari, Female Readers, and the Debate about Women in Sixteenth-Century Italy', *Renaissance and Reformation / Renaissance et Réforme*, 28 (2004), 5-32 (p. 14). See this article for more on Giolito's support of women, but also its potential as a pose to impress a male literary audience.

and was stated to be living at his expense in 1553,³¹⁶ so it is simple to assume that Dolce was primed to take over from Domenichi the editing of Terracina's work for Giolito. Dolce also had an important role in publishing Chiara Matraini and Isabella Morra, suggesting his awareness of the interest which women's writing could elicit.³¹⁷ His collaboration with Terracina, however, seems to have been abortive, as discussed above. In the dedication to the *Quarte rime*, Terracina explains that Dolce had offered in a letter to her to 'corregere la mia terza opera data in luce sopra i canti de l'Ariosto',³¹⁸ that is, the *Discorso*. However, he had failed to fulfil his promise, and had not suitably prepared her work for publication. This illuminates Terracina's somewhat cryptic sonnet to Dolce which opens editions of the *Discorso* published in 1550 and onwards, in which she presents Dolce with the text '[i]n fretta da me visto, e non d'altrui'. After Dolce's failure to edit Terracina's work in a reasonable amount of time, for which she publicly reproached him in both the *Discorso* and *Quarte rime*, she turned to Giovanni Alfonso Mantegna di Maida, who she seems to have trusted to ensure her works met the strict linguistic standards expected. Terracina by this point to have been placing her work wherever she could find a willing publisher: Giolito published her *Discorso*, but almost contemporaneously Valvassori published her *Quarte rime*. It is indicative of the feverishness of the Venetian literary scene that two publishers could bring out different works by one author in such a short space of time.³¹⁹

By the time of the *Seste rime* 1, in the second half of 1550s, both Domenichi and Giolito seem to have disappeared from the picture altogether, although certainly the former

³¹⁶ Richardson, *Printing, Writers and Readers*, p. 96.

³¹⁷ Cox, *Women's Writing*, p. 83.

³¹⁸ *Quarte rime*, p. 2^r.

³¹⁹ Giolito also brought out a new edition of Terracina's *Rime* in 1550, alongside the two editions of the *Discorso*.

may have had some influence behind the scenes. Terracina's angry dedication in the legitimate *Seste rime* 2 implicates Marcantonio Passero, Polidoro Terracina and one Martin Picchinucci in putting her in contact with Vincenzo Arnolfini of Lucca, who presumably used Busdraghi as a publisher for her sixth work. Ludovico Domenichi and Vincenzo Busdraghi did know each other in Lucca,³²⁰ and in the small world of publishing it is possible that Domenichi's prior endorsement of Terracina might have inclined Busdraghi to take her on (or rather, appropriate her work), or inclined Terracina to work with someone known to her previous collaborator. It is notable too that Busdraghi had already successfully published another female poet of middling social rank, Chiara Matraini, in 1555,³²¹ but then included neither of them when he published Domenichi's 1559 anthology of women's writing. By this time, Domenichi's relationship with Terracina seems to have waned for good.

The debacle of the *Seste rime*

We might identify the fading of Terracina's relationship with Domenichi and Giolito as one of the reasons she was left exposed to exploitation in the 1550s, leading to the messy situation around the two editions of the *Seste rime*. Terracina lost control of her own work and saw it published without her knowledge, but this was not a singular occurrence in sixteenth-century Italy, when the ideas of intellectual property and copyright were only nascent. Indeed, the phenomenon of what we could see as

³²⁰ Quondam, *Le corti farnesiane*, p. 195.

³²¹ Busdraghi published Matraini's *Rime e prose* in 1555, and one 'Arnolfini', possibly the Vincenzo Arnolfini who with Busdraghi published Terracina's pirated *Seste rime* 1, was linked to Matraini's boisterous and somewhat scandalous semi-academy before that time too, who may have been the publisher. See Matraini's entry in the *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* for more information, 'MATRAINI, Chiara', by Giovanna Rabitti <http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/chiera-matraini_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/>

[accessed 5 July 2017].

various forms of piracy was far from uncommon. In an era in which copyright or intellectual property laws were in their earliest infancy, and work frequently circulated in manuscript version among smaller and larger coteries of social or academic contacts, the risk of publishing without the author's consent was high. The first *privilegi* in Venice were issued in the latter half of the fifteenth century, and could be issued to cover a range of 'products', such as specific titles, the work of specific authors, or mechanical innovations such as non-Roman fonts. By 1517, however, the proliferation of unmanageably vague *privilegi* was unsustainable and unworkable, effectively blocking the development of the printing industry. Forced to take drastic measures, the Venetian government cancelled all previous privileges, and decreed from now on that they would only be issued on new works, or previously unprinted works. A Venetian proverb tells that 'Lege Veneziana dura 'na settimana' and, while the 1517 law lasted a little longer than that, by 1537 the situation was again out of control, with publishers making the lightest of edits to create a 'new work'. In 1537 the previous law was reaffirmed so that a 'new' work had to be truly new.³²² At this stage, copyrights lasted for approximately ten years, although from 1560 onwards this rose to seventeen years. A 1534 law stated, however, that a privilege would only remain valid if the book was published within a year.³²³

Among the most famous examples of underhand behaviour on the part of printers with no respect for the author's wishes is that Baldassare Castiglione's *Il libro del cortegiano*. In his dedicatory letter to Don Michel de Silva, the Bishop of Viseo, Castiglione explains his motivation in publishing was not a desire to see his work in

³²² Horatio F. Brown, *The Venetian Printing Press: An [sic] Historical Study Based upon Documents for the Most Part Hitherto Unpublished* (London: John C. Nimmo, 1891), p. 77.

³²³ Leonardus Vytautus Gerulaitis, *Printing and Publishing in Fifteenth-Century Venice* (Chicago and London: American Library Association and Mansell Information/Publishing Ltd., 1976), p. 46.

print, but rather frustration that inaccurate versions peppered with errors were circulating. Vittoria Colonna, a trusted friend, 'contra la promessa sua ne avea fatto transcrivere una gran parte' following which 'quella parte del libro si ritrovava in Napoli in mano di molti; e, come sono gli omini sempre cupidi di novità, pareva che quelli tali tentassero di farla imprimere.'³²⁴ After a number of manuscript versions, the printed edition was issued in Venice in 1528. Another well-known author, Ludovico Ariosto, who depended upon the income from his writing to support himself, sought privileges for the *Orlando Furioso* from a number of different authorities, including Charles V, the Doge of Venice, and the Duke of Milan. Nonetheless, the many unauthorised editions of the chivalric epic published between 1524 and 1531 strongly implies the failure of the privilege system to really protect the author.³²⁵

It was only in the mid 1540s that the Venetian authorities first moved to grant legal rights to an author over their manuscript. Prior to this, it had not been established whether ownership existed *ipso facto* for the author of a work, or if that was only created when a copyright was obtained. Venetian printer-publishers until this point had tended to ignore literary proprietorship, and printed at will, even against the direct wishes of authors. In 1544-1545 however, the Venetian authorities forbade anyone to print or sell a work without first having presented documentary proof of the author's consent to the *Riformatori dello studio*, the Council of Ten's appointed censors. Heavy penalties would follow if the law were not respected.³²⁶

However, such attempts at regularisation of the publishing industry were inevitably not always successful. Even men as powerful as Giolito and Dolce fell victim to

³²⁴ Castiglione, *Il libro del cortegiano*, pp. 23-4.

³²⁵ Angela Nuovo, *Il commercio librario nell'Italia del Rinascimento*, 3rd edn (Milan: FrancoAngeli, 2003), p. 196.

³²⁶ Horatio F. Brown, *The Venetian Printing Press*, p. 79.

underhand behaviour, causing the latter particular distress. In 1545, Giolito initiated a series of works which would permanently change the way publishers would sell works and readers buy them.³²⁷ He brought out the *Rime diverse di molti eccellentissimi auttori nuovamente raccolte. Libro primo*, an anthology for which Ludovico Domenichi took responsibility by signing the dedication. While prior to this there had been few print anthologies, the *Rime diverse di molti eccellentissimi autori* started a craze, and more than one hundred anthologies were subsequently printed between 1545 and 1590.³²⁸ Perhaps its canniest innovation lay in its title: by positioning it at the start of a series of works to follow, the first *collana*, Giolito invested his readers in buying and reading subsequent volumes. The *Libro primo* went through two more editions by 1550, and a second volume of poetry brought out in 1547 also had a reprint before the midcentury. Immense popularity followed, and a micro-industry within publishing was born.

Giolito, however, was soon to discover that unbridled success provoked more than mere envy among his many competitors in publishing across Italy,³²⁹ as the lack of *privilegio* protecting future titles in the series allowed unscrupulous others to capitalise upon his success and bring out what was purportedly, for example, the *Terzo libro* in the series and market it on the strength of the intellectual, high-quality credentials of the prior publications. Although Giolito had had a *Terzo libro* in preparation under the care of Lodovico Dolce, which he published in 1552, Andrea Arrivabene had seen an

³²⁷ For more on Giolito's contribution to the fashion for anthologies, see Clubb and Clubb, pp. 332-44.

³²⁸ Clubb and Clubb, pp. 334-35.

³²⁹ The validity of *privilegi* outside Venice can vary. While Gerulaitis states that privileges do not extend beyond Venice (*Printing and Publishing*, p. 36), rights could be sought on an international scale, or across multiple cities (Frank D. Prager, 'A History of Intellectual Property from 1545 to 1787', *Journal of the Patent Office Society*, 26 (1944), 711-60 (p. 718)).

opportunity and published a *Terzo libro* in 1550, and Anselmo Giaccarello and Ercol Botrigaro had brought out a *Libro quarto* in Bologna in 1551. Swiftly recognising that concession would work in his interest, Giolito reissued his '*Terzo libro*' collection in the same year, slightly expanded and labelled as the *Quinte libro*.³³⁰ This attracted the ire of another *poligrafo*, Girolamo Ruscelli, who was working with Arrivabene on a supposedly fifth book in the series. The ensuing spat, which shows neither Dolce nor Ruscelli in a very flattering light, is indicative of the social and financial capital which editors and publishers had invested in anthologies.³³¹

Terracina herself enjoyed few useful advantages of high rank, proximity, and social clout in exercising ownership over her work. Being resident in Naples, she was hundreds of miles and days of travel from publishing centres and so relied entirely upon the goodwill and honesty of the men who received her manuscripts and guided them to press. While she appears to have negotiated the publication of her first five works without wrangles over ownership or right to print – as far as we are aware – Terracina's effectively disempowered position was made extremely clear in the years 1558 to 1560. Her sixth book of *rime* was first published in a reputable-seeming edition in Lucca by Busdraghi in 1558, but it was not until 1560 that a 'corrective' edition authorised by the author was produced, published in Naples by Raymondo Amato.

Thanks to the clarity with which Terracina excoriates the presumptive publisher Busdraghi in the 1560 edition, it is possible to establish a clear picture of how the manuscript for a sixth book of poetry fell into dishonest hands, and also envisage the frustration felt by an author at her lack of control. She clearly describes the process by which the publisher came to have her manuscript to do as he would with:

³³⁰ Clubb and Clubb, pp. 336-37; Milburn, *Luigi Tansillo*, p.85; Milburn, "Come scultor", p. 7.

³³¹ For a full account of this incident, see Clubb and Clubb, pp. 337-38.

[E]cco un giorno, i prieghi di Marc'antonio passero e del signor Polidoro Terracina tirati da un gran sforzo di Messer Martin picchinucci mi possero in animo d'inviarla [the manuscript] ad un certo messer Vincenzo Arnolfini da Lucca, huomo che non pure io non havea mai conosciuto, ma né anco udito ricordare [...] Et in questo cadendo l'occasione che M. Antonio terminio mio amicissimo dovea partirsi per Genova per alcuni suoi affari, mi parse assai convenevole con una commodità cosi sicura inviargliela.³³²

A number of factors stand out in this process. Firstly, the relatively little influence that Terracina herself appears to hold in initiating and managing the publication process compared to her earlier works. Instead of seeking out a means to publish herself, Terracina is beseeched to do so by her husband and the Neapolitan bookseller and deal-broker Marcantonio Passero. Martin Picchinucci, the dedicatee of a stanza in the 1550 *Quarte rime* and thus clearly a pre-existing contact, evidently provided strong support for their wishes.³³³ In a world in which women were socially inferior to men, Terracina would have been left with little choice but to comply (her very real anger and frustration at this lack of choice build to the impassioned outpouring in the dedication to the eighth book, the *Seconda parte*). The second notable factor is the seemingly 'rustic' means by which the manuscript travelled from its author in the south of Italy to its publisher in the heart of Tuscany. Terracina (always conscious of money?) sends it not with a courier, but instead with a dependable friend – her poetic correspondence with Antonio Terminio in her *Seste rime 1* shows that their relationship is one of mutual respect and trust. Moreover, given their personal link, Terminio was more likely to ensure that it arrived uncorrupted at its destination

³³² *Seste rime 2*, opening dedication, no page number.

³³³ See the *Quarte rime*, p. 29^r. His name in this context is spelt 'Pighinuccio'.

(though perhaps, given the outcome of the debacle, Terracina would have preferred that it had not!). The third factor, and perhaps the most important one, is that this dedication reveals what a tangled affair sixteenth-century copyright and intellectual property was.³³⁴ After all, Terracina requested that this Lucchese publisher print her works, and willingly gave them over to him. The problems developed when he seemed to take an unconscionably long time to go about it, and (understandably) did not keep her updated on progress:

Havendola egli da poi ricevuta, la hebbe più di uno anno et mezzo tenuta, come sparviero nella muta, senza non pure farmene mai moto ma né anco degnarsi di rispondere a niuna delle mie lettere di tante che gliene ho inviate quasi ogni giorno.³³⁵

Inevitably, the reasons for his silence became all too clear when Terracina came across a copy of the *Seste rime 1* which had been published without her knowledge, ‘con una nuova epistola e quattro sonetti i primi in lode di detta signora [Isabella della Rovere], i quali non sono miei’.³³⁶ Evidently, having received the author’s manuscript with her blessing, the unscrupulous Arnolfini and Busdraghi saw the chance to increase their cut to the entirety of the profits by not making the effort to inform the author that she had in fact been published. Terracina had no doubt of the regard in which Arnolfini held her: ‘Messer Vincenzo mi tiene per ciò in quel conto che si fa del zero nell’abbaco’.³³⁷ This comes in sharp contrast to the praise which she had originally

³³⁴ See Cynthia J. Brown, *Poets, Patrons and Printers. Crisis of Authority in Late Medieval France* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1995) for a helpful discussion of the struggle for authority between author and publisher in early sixteenth-century France.

³³⁵ *Seste rime 2*, p. 3.

³³⁶ *Seste rime 2*, p. 3.

³³⁷ *Seste rime 2*, p. 4.

addressed to both Picchinucci and Arnolfini in verse contained in the *Seste rime* 1: the former is addressed with 'affettione' and 'obligo',³³⁸ while the latter is depicted as beyond description and Terracina so overwhelmed that she finishes her sonnet claiming that 'nulla di voi parlo, né scrivo'.³³⁹

That Terracina published her 'authorised' *Seste rime* 2 in Naples becomes more understandable in this context. Even though her artistic control might remain compromised thanks to her gender, she is at least physically close to the printer, where a reliable friend or her husband might be able to keep a closer eye on goings on.

It is interesting that, counter-intuitively, the 1558 edition does not appear in any way illegitimate. Printed in octavo on good quality paper, and with the text preceded by a previously used portrait of Terracina,³⁴⁰ it conforms in every way to the style of her published works to that point. Luigi Matteucci, editor of Busdraghi's catalogue, describes it as a '[b]ella e rara edizione'.³⁴¹ The luxurious appearance of the generously sized Italic font, the clarity of the lettering, and the modern pagination make it a well-produced and neat work. In contrast, the 'authorised' 1560 edition is printed on cheaper paper, the ink showing through from one page to the next, and lacks page numbers. The type itself is unclear and small, rendering the reading experience less fluent and enjoyable. In an era in which it was not uncommon for authors to pay for some proportion of printing costs, it could be that Terracina was not in a financial

³³⁸ *Seste rime* 1, p. 85.

³³⁹ *Seste rime* 1, p. 96.

³⁴⁰ As in the *Rime seconde*.

³⁴¹ Luigi Matteucci, 'Saggio di un Catalogo delle Edizioni Lucchesi di Vincenzo Busdrago, 1549-1605', *La Bibliofilia*, 18 (1917), 225-39, 328-56 (p. 331).

position to ensure her sixth volume met the standards of her previous works.³⁴² It might also be that printers she knew and trusted, such as presumably Raymondo Amato, were simply not as skilled at their craft. Amato had been in business in Naples since 1551, mostly in partnership with other businessmen, and printed 48 works in a variety of genres during his career.³⁴³ It could be that he lacked the experience and capital to produce works of the highest quality.

Perhaps most striking about Terracina's reaction to the pirated 1558 edition is the sense of disappointment and anger she feels towards the dedicatee, Isabella della Rovere, the Marchesa di Massa. At first, the noblewoman is criticised in the first of the two new dedications to Cola Antonio Caracciolo as ungrateful, which Terracina characterises as among the worst of sins, that which caused the falls of both Lucifer and Man: 'non habbia la detta signora Marchesa, se non per merito mio per sua natural gentilezza usatomi qualche gratitudine di parole'.³⁴⁴ Natalie Zemon Davis has argued in the French sixteenth-century context that 'the dedication of author, editor, or translator' within a book 'insert[ed] the book into a gift relation'.³⁴⁵ Once we understand a dedicated book as functioning within a gift economy in which '[g]ifts were to express sentiments of affection, compassion, and/or gratefulness, [and were] simultaneously sources of support, interest, and advancement',³⁴⁶ we can see why Terracina's disappointment and anger is so strong. The Marchesa failed to show

³⁴² For more on the financial involvement of authors in the printing of their works, see Richardson, *Printing, Writers and Readers*, pp. 58-69.

³⁴³ Fernanda Ascarelli and Marco Menato, *La tipografia del '500 in Italia* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1989), p. 35.

³⁴⁴ *Seste rime* 2, p. 4.

³⁴⁵ Natalie Zemon Davis, *The Gift in Sixteenth-Century France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 78.

³⁴⁶ *The Gift*, p. 35.

sufficient – or any – gratitude, and Zemon Davis argues that, although society was increasingly legal and contractual, the ‘spirit of contract did not necessarily sap conviction about the importance of gratitude’.³⁴⁷ Throughout the Renaissance, ingratitude was a ‘sin against friends, lords, and patrons [which] was harshly condemned’.³⁴⁸ Terracina’s anger can be explained by her perception that a crucial tenet of the gift exchange has been violated by her social superior. ‘As physical objects, sixteenth-century printed books operated under the sign both of sale and of gift,’³⁴⁹ and so the Marchesa’s failure hurt Terracina from two directions: Terracina lost the potential profit from the book as an object in the commercial economy, but also felt violated in the context of the older gift economy, in which she was owed gratitude.

Although the poet claims that ‘assai più guadagno io di gloria sotto l’ombra del suo nome che non fa ella quando più è celebrata dalle mie muse’,³⁵⁰ she is happy to lose these potential advantages by very publicly renouncing her ‘dedicatee’. Indeed, the final bridge is well and truly burnt at the end of the collection, in a daring ‘Copia della lettera mandata all’illustrissima donna Isabetta [sic] della Rovere Marchesana di Massa’.³⁵¹ Starting in an unusually blunt manner for the time (‘Duolmi che’), Terracina declares how she used to have a good deal of respect for the noblewoman, but that this has been lost due to the Marchesa’s apparent complete lack of gratitude for the dedication of the collection (which, in turn, would doubtless have alerted Terracina sooner to the circulation of the pirated edition). The highly personal tone of the letter makes the complaint all the more powerful:

³⁴⁷ *The Gift*, p. 35.

³⁴⁸ Guy Fitch Lytle, ‘Friendship and Patronage in Renaissance Europe’ in *Patronage, Art and Society*, ed. by Kent, Simon and Eade, pp. 47-61 (p. 56).

³⁴⁹ Zemon Davis, *The Gift*, p. 78.

³⁵⁰ *Seste rime* 2, p. 4.

³⁵¹ *Seste rime* 2, no page number.

Hora giudichi vostra Eccellentia, s'io mene doglio, che io mi credeva che egli mi fosse dovuto essere cortese del mio, o vero che vostra Illustrissima signoria com'el suo costume grata verso di me, se non di quel premio che'l mondo me ne faceva creditrice, rispetto al valor di vostra Eccellentia e al merto mio qual'egli si sia, d'una sua lettere [sic] almeno.³⁵²

This comment also provides evidence for the way in which an author might hope to benefit from a dedication: at the very least, a letter from the dedicatee thanking them for their attention, although doubtless they often hoped for more solid recognition, whether through money, goods, or social appointments.

Terracina does not, however, place herself entirely in a subservient position, begging for crumbs from the nobility's table. Instead, in a particularly rousing section of her letter, she powerfully asserts her own social and literary capital:

[S]e Meseser [sic] Vincenzo crede ch'io sì per haverli grande obligo perché mi habbia fatta stampare e dedicare l'opera mia, erra affatto, perché a me non è fino qui venuto meno né stampa più degna di quella di Luccha, né principe a cui havessi io dovuto dedicare le mie fatiche. De che fanno fede gli altri miei libri, che vanno la Iddio mercede per le mani de gli huomini in non mica sinistra reputatione.³⁵³

Moving beyond paratextual considerations into the bodies of the two editions of the *Seste rime*, the differences between the two provide a fascinating insight into

³⁵² *Seste rime* 2, no page number.

³⁵³ *Seste rime* 2, no page number.

publishing priorities and considerations of the era, as well as revealing how Terracina wanted to be marketed in comparison to how she was actually marketed. Although opening with sonnets addressed to the Marchesa di Massa and the Marchese di Massa (the authorship of which Terracina vehemently denies in the 1560 dedication) and other well-known figures in Neapolitan social circles and beyond (Charles V, Isabella di Capua, Herina Scanderbech),³⁵⁴ as well as a pair of prophecies in sonnet form, the 1558 edition includes a number of sonnets: 'A Christo', 'A Christo Salvator nostro' and 'A la vergine Benedetta'. These will be considered in chapter five, but suffice it to say here that their inclusion in the 1577 *Nono libro* manuscript suggests that they were from Terracina's pen. These sonnets are interesting for what they tell us about how Busdraghi hoped to market Terracina, both as a female author and as one with a spiritual element, fashionable in the wake of Vittoria Colonna, but also suggestive of the religious turn of her work.

One major question provoked by the two editions lies at the end of the 1558 edition, consisting of a letter addressed to one 'virtuoso e valoroso Signor Giovan Francesco Incoronato di Napoli'.³⁵⁵ This prose letter is preceded by sonnets addressed to the same gentleman, and followed by *stanze* based on the *Orlando Furioso*. Terracina does not explicitly denounce the letter as a falsehood in the *Seste rime* 2, and it is typical of her tone and style. The letter is a piece of self-defence in which Terracina claims to have heard 'uno odoso strepito di male accorte lingue'. Their calumnies are unjustified in her view, unlike her own justified criticism of women who do wrong, not 'l'honorate Donne'. Indeed, her conduct is such that she should be considered a model for other women:

³⁵⁴ Spelt 'Scadaribech' in the *Seste rime* 1.

³⁵⁵ *Seste rime* 1, pp. 228-29.

[A]nzi dirovi c'havendo scritto d'un caso sì esemplare, e come donna anch'io, mi sono ugualata a pormi nel comune supplitio, acciò che l'altre donne veggendo ch'io son donna, e vitupero il male che forse puote avvenire de le mondane delitie, devrebbero più tosto lodarmi ch'altrimente tacciarmi.³⁵⁶

This letter is important not just for what it tells us of Terracina's self-conscious self-fashioning, but also for the shadowy impression it gives of her readership. Clearly, criticism comes from both men and women, aimed at both her literary skill (or lack thereof) and subject matter. In the face of such an assault, it is understandable that Terracina should choose to defend herself in a public arena in which she holds the power, one of her own published texts.

The lack of the letter and these *stanze* in the 1560 edition raise doubts over their authenticity, especially given that we know that other poems in the 1558 edition were false attributions, but also gives rise to numerous questions about the rights editors felt that they enjoyed over a text. Once a manuscript left an author's hands, it was immediately vulnerable, as we have seen. Moreover, the fact that Terracina had herself sent her poetry to Busdraghi with the intention of having it published may have given the publisher the feeling of having even more licence to behave as he wished. Terracina's gender could also have detracted from his sense of her authority, particularly in matters of either literature or commerce.

Following the fractious debacle of the *Seste rime* editions, Terracina's next work was brought out in Naples, and seems to mark a change of direction, or perhaps a return, to her earlier, small-scale coterie publications. Addressed to 'le donne vedove di questa nostra città di Napoli titolate e non titolate', the quarto volume of the *Settime*

³⁵⁶ *Seste rime* 1, p. 229.

rime is a higher quality publication than the *Seste rime* 2, also published in Naples, its paper of notably better quality. The primary dedicatee of the volume is Maria Anna della Cueva, Princess of Ascoli, who was noble in her own right and married to Luigi de Leyva, who inherited the fiefdom of Monza from his father in 1537. A poor manager of money, he eventually conceded a good deal of his family's land and left his wife in financial straits when he moved to Brussels and left her in Lombardy, having signed over administrative control of his family's estates to her. He died in battle in Flanders in 1557. It thus seems that Maria Anna controlled the family's finances and diplomatic relations, including their important holdings in the Kingdom of Naples, which explains why Terracina would choose her as a dedicatee.³⁵⁷ The first section of the collection contains poems addressed to those of highest status within Neapolitan society, including Herina Scanderbech, Costanza d'Avalos,³⁵⁸ and Felice Sanseverina, the Duchess of Gravina. The first few are *stanze* with three verses, while the next group are each *stanze* of two verses. The latter fit neatly on to one page within generous margins, and also enjoy decorative first initials. The book's format creates a sense of occasion and importance beyond that often found in Terracina's other, more diffuse collections. The second half of the book celebrates, with less ceremony, other

³⁵⁷ *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, 'LEYVA, Virginia Maria de', by Massimo Carlo Giannini, <[http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/virginia-maria-de-leyva_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/virginia-maria-de-leyva_(Dizionario-Biografico))> [accessed 16 October 2016], <https://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/De_Leyva> [accessed 16 October 2016]. Maria Anna was also grandmother of the infamous Monaca di Monza, another Marianna de Leyva.

³⁵⁸ Given that Costanza d'Avalos, doyenne of Ischia, had died in 1541 (Diana Robin, *Publishing Women: Salons, the Presses, and the Counter-Reformation in Sixteenth-Century Italy* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2007), pp. 61, 275), this is likely Costanza d'Avalos Piccolomini, daughter of Inigo, Marchese del Vasto, and Laura Sanseverino, who died in 1575 (*Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, entry for 'AVALOS, Costanza d', duchessa d'Amalfi', by Claudio Mutini, <http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/avalos-costanza-d-duchessa-d-amalfi_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/> [accessed 24 October 2016].

Neapolitan women of lower social standing, an octave dedicated to each, and three to a page. An index at the back of the book, which is not normally found in Terracina's works, would allow the reader to find 'their' poem swiftly – or to check who had not been included in this selective Who's Who of Naples.

The dedication presents the *Settime rime* as entirely the product of its author's own initiative, with no mention made of more worldly impulses such as a desire for money or pressure from publishers. Terracina claims that the sight of Maria Anna della Cueva's sorrow upon the death of her husband, Luigi de Leyva, inspired her to take 'la penna in mano per consolarne l'Eccellentissima Vostra, e ritrarla al quanto dal doglioso e mesto pensiero, che per la morte del suo caro Consorte la occupa del continuo'.³⁵⁹ Don Luigi's death in 1557 suggests a plausible composition period of around three years.³⁶⁰ Rather than being lost in grief, the bereaved woman should rejoice that her husband is now in Heaven and far from the fallen world. Terracina then extended her project to other 'signore' and 'gentildonne private' of Naples who had also lost their husbands. It is also intriguing that Terracina here presents herself within such an insistently female framework, and it raises the question of whether this is a means by which she attempts to remarket herself. Changing social expectations or a negative reaction to her previous publications might have encouraged her to fashion herself in this way. It could be also the impact of her relatively recent marriage (if born in 1519 and not wed before 30, she married in 1549 at the very earliest and likely later) which had placed her in a new social position.

³⁵⁹ *Settime rime*, opening dedication, no page number.

³⁶⁰ *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* entry for Virginia Maria de Leyva (LEYVA, Virginia Maria de', by Massimo Carlo Giannini, <[http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/virginia-maria-de-leyva_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)>](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/virginia-maria-de-leyva_(Dizionario-Biografico)>) [accessed 16 October 2016], 'De Leyva, Virginia Maria, detta la "Signora di Monza"', anonymous, <<http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/de-leyva-virginia-maria-detta-la-signora-di-monza/>> [accessed 16 October 2016]).

Thanks to its local milieu and concerns, this collection could be seen as an attempt by Terracina to consolidate and celebrate the social links within Naples on a more intimate scale, rather than the more prestigious publications she had previously brought out. By choosing to dedicate her work to another woman, and more broadly addressing one female social group, Terracina creates for herself a 'safe space' in which she is to some extent metaphorically shielded from prying male eyes.³⁶¹ Moreover, instead of venturing out into the publishing world alone, she is accompanied by other women. It also risks serving as encouragement, however, to male readers who might be titillated by the thought of having a glimpse into a space designated as private and female (not necessarily a disadvantage if it leads to higher sales). In this case, it seems that by attempting to control and limit her readership, Terracina aims to defend herself and regroup after the stress of the two editions of the *Seste rime*. She 'guarantees' herself a friendly readership. On the other hand, however, she is also taking a step which could be considered somewhat bold. Not being a widow herself, those who had lost husbands might have questioned her role in commanding them to take comfort in religion and not mourn. It might grate even more for any women who had lost their financial, and perhaps social, security and status at their husband's death. The relatively high quality of the publication suggests that, however they may have interpreted her gesture, Terracina intended to impress and honour Naples's widows in suitable style. That said, the number of printing errors is relatively high, which implies that more attention was paid to superficial matters of presentation than to technical detail.

³⁶¹ For more on the practice of women dedicating texts to women in the French context, see Deborah N. Losse, 'Women Addressing Women: The Differentiated Text', in *Renaissance Women Writers: French Texts / American Contexts*, ed. by Anne R. Larsen and Colette H. Winn (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1994), pp. 23-37.

While the *Seconda parte* is a clear attempt to capitalise upon Terracina's prior success, it never achieved the staggering popularity of the earlier *Discorso*. A number of reasons might be posited for this: by 1567 the cultural climate had changed, resulting in a more restrictive atmosphere favouring 'spiritual' texts. Indeed, it is interesting that they were published by Valvassori, who only began cashing in on Terracina once she had already made her name as a commercial success under the auspices of Giolito, helped along by Passero and Domenichi as contacts. Giolito himself by this stage had understood (as ever, intuiting the way the wind was blowing) the changing publishing landscape, and his output had skewed to favour religious, spiritual or theological texts. Between 1555 and 1565 Giolito changed his editorial line – his last edition of the *Decameron* was in 1552, and the final *Orlando Furioso* in 1560 – so that religious books aimed at lay 'fedeli', rather than learned clergymen, became his bread and butter.³⁶² Whereas Giolito had published only six books classified as 'religious' in the period 1545-49, compared to 97 classified as 'literature', in 1555-59 he published 25 'religious' and 63 'literature', and in 1565-69 50 'religious', works and 25 works of literature.³⁶³ While nothing changed in Giolito's means of book production, generic *rime* became *rime spirituali* and guides to being a good courtier became guides to being a good Christian.³⁶⁴ It could be that Terracina's highly pragmatic and earth-bound poetry no longer fulfilled Giolito's editorial demands. Having had two major successes with her *Rime* and *Discorso* already, and as Giolito was no longer working as closely with Domenichi, Terracina's link to Giolito may have naturally faded.

Lacking, perhaps, Giolito's editorial flair, Valvassori instead attempted to bring out a ready-made hit by appending *La seconda parte de' discorsi sopra le seconde stanze de' canti d'Orlando Furioso* to a new edition of *La prima parte de' discorsi sopra le prime stanze*

³⁶² Amedeo Quondam, "'Mercanzia d'onore" "'Mercanzia d'utile", p. 73.

³⁶³ Quondam, "'Mercanzia d'onore" "'Mercanzia d'utile"', p. 89.

³⁶⁴ Quondam, "'Mercanzia d'onore" "'Mercanzia d'utile"', p. 92.

d'Orlando Furioso, which Valvassori had not previously published.³⁶⁵ While estimating sixteenth-century print runs from extant copies is necessarily a risky and imprecise task, it would be fair to assume that this reflects a small initial print run, with perhaps another run in mind should the work prove a commercial success (the lack of second edition suggests it was not).

Of course, it is impossible for us to know Terracina's hopes for her final, unpublished work, her *Nono libro*, extant only in manuscript in Florence.³⁶⁶ It appears to have been left unfinished in the process of preparation for publication – by whom is unknown. The dedication had already been written, and the fact that the vast majority of poems were addressed to cardinals and other men of the cloth suggests that its target audience may in fact have been Rome. A distinction should be drawn between the target audience of reading public – the middle classes who might have purchased Terracina's highly portable, entertaining yet 'improving' and reasonably priced works – and the clergymen whose attention and appreciation she hoped to attract. However, the fact remains that her final work had an ostensibly very different direction – even if, in practice, the poetry itself is focused upon earthly events and does not attain (or even aim for) anything like the 'purer' spirituality of, for example, Vittoria Colonna.

An assessment of input

As the fraught publications of the two editions of the *Seste rime* show, a number of people were (potentially) involved in the publication of Terracina's books. The questions arises of how much of Terracina's work is 'hers', and how much has been judiciously edited. Typically, critics have tended to minimise Terracina's input, seeing her as a creation of the press and clever managers. In fact, closer study of Terracina's

³⁶⁵ See the introduction to Terracina, *Discorsi*, pp. 9-44.

³⁶⁶ Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale di Firenze, MS Palatino 229.

early works in particular suggest her involvement in publication from the *Rime* onwards, and the press to be a means of developing and burnishing her pre-existing reputation in Naples.

In her assessment, Deanna Shemek argues that Terracina was frustrated by the loss of control imposed upon her by the printing press:

A creature of the printing industry's marketing strategies, the author of the *Discorso* experienced her fame at least partially as a loss of control over her own discourse. The assiduous requests she received from editors for more poems and the multiplication of error-ridden editions of her work appear to have tormented Terracina as an errant form of reproduction, an involuntary, even coerced, self-propagation in words.³⁶⁷

'Tormented' is a strong word, one not entirely merited from the evidence of Terracina's own volumes. Although the *Seconda parte* reveals a reluctance to write, the majority of Terracina's dedications show a woman intent on sharing her work with the world. Helen Smith remarks that '[i]t is difficult not to read male interventions in women's texts as reproducing patriarchal control over female speech and identity, and critics are understandably resistant to reading strategies that might theorize such interactions as collaborations rather than censorship or manipulation'.³⁶⁸ Given this case, we must approach Terracina's texts being even more alert to not over-attributing input to her various male editors, contacts, and family members.

³⁶⁷ *Ladies Errant*, p. 130.

³⁶⁸ Helen Smith, *'Grossly Material Things': Women and Book Production in Early Modern England* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2012).

Certainly some of Terracina's complaints, such as her lamenting Dolce's shortcomings as an editor, combine typical Renaissance modesty with a more audacious judgement that her works should be circulated free from errors. The fact that Terracina continued to publish volume after volume highlights the fallacy that she was tormented by the increasing presence of her works in the public domain. Rather, Terracina seems to have encouraged a process of multiplication of words, constantly refining and reshaping her own image. As much as she may have attracted the attention of editors and publishers, we should be careful not to erase her entirely from her own narrative, to the extent that she is reduced to a name on someone else's lips. Instead, we should seek to understand what Terracina and her interaction with editors and publishers can tell us of the process of publication for a middle-class and successful woman in sixteenth-century Italy.

Although Terracina was the product of various financial, social and other pressures, she was also strongly individual. To be influenced by external pressures is not to be wholly formed or erased by them, and female authors can shape themselves both with and against their religious and social contexts. When Terracina elicits responses to her poetry she does so from certain select people, even as she ensures that her manuscripts and works remain very much hers, thanks to her habit of addressing poetry to specific individuals, who frequently respond in a personalised, if public and controlled, fashion. Her ire at the Marchesa di Massa for failing to acknowledge the *Seste rime 1* indicates clearly how Terracina believed some thanks was due to her personally, as author. Cynthia Brown notes that with the flourishing of the printed book came a need for authors to assert their ownership over a text to avoid publishers reaping all profits. By the early sixteenth century, she asserts, writers were not only literary creators, but also acting as organisers of their publications and protectors of them.³⁶⁹ Terracina

³⁶⁹ Brown, *Poets, Patrons, and Printers*, especially p. 34.

certainly was assiduously cared for by editors and publishers, but we should not assume that this was at the expense of her own interest and involvement.

We should also recall that the sixteenth century as a whole had very different notions of authorship: recent scholarship has argued that collaboration among a group was a prevalent, if not the dominant, means of production.³⁷⁰ Helen Smith argues that 'all texts, not simply those attributed to women, were marked and mediated by numerous agents',³⁷¹ and I would add that it is particularly important not to approach ostensibly female-authored texts differently from ostensibly male-authored texts, seeking out the men who might have helped along publication. However, Terracina's gender, which is in some ways an obstacle to her literary development, in one context does mark her apart. As the lone female member of the Incogniti, she had a status which was automatically different. The dedication to her *Seconde rime* for one suggests that this influences how her texts were interpreted and edited by those around her, who never treated this as just another manuscript, but as something inescapably marked as apart.

The dedication of the *Seconde rime* is illuminating too when considering the intuitive, but fallacious, dichotomy of the 'open' manuscript in contrast to 'closed' print.³⁷² By making clear how she circulated her manuscript, eliciting corrections and alterations, Terracina elides the difference between the two forms. Indeed, the dedication to her first published book of *Rime* suggests that although her manuscript had, in theory, been sent out for revision to Ludovico Domenichi, he had in fact left it untouched for

³⁷⁰ See Helen Smith, '*Grossly Material Things*', pp. 4-6, for an overview of scholarship on collaboration as a means of textual production in the early modern period.

³⁷¹ Smith, '*Grossly Material Things*', p. 6.

³⁷² Brian Richardson cites the case of poet Bernardo Cappello (1498-1565) who revised his poems before and after printing ('From Scribal Publication to Print Publication: Pietro Bembo's "Rime," 1529-1535', *The Modern Language Review*, 95 (2000), 684-95 (p. 694)).

'parecchi mesi'. Similarly, thanks to Terracina's complaints in the *Discorso* and *Quarte rime* we know that Lodovico Dolce showed no inclination to edit Terracina's manuscript, much as she might have liked him to do so (although this seems more due to his laziness than respect for her original work).

The *Settime rime* illustrates the other aspect of manuscripts, suggesting how they were not always treated as infinitely malleable. Terracina is forced to issue an apology for the fact that, although at the time of composition all the women addressed in the collection were widows and 'tutte vive', in the interim a number have died or remarried (which must have made reading the description of women's desolation at their previous husband's death a little sensitive in the households of a number of Neapolitan newlyweds). Although it may have been subject to spelling or grammar corrections, the manuscript had remained effectively unaltered.³⁷³

In addition to this, it is important to consider whether or not authors who circulated their manuscripts and elicited revisions might not have one day aspired to print publication. Thus, while the manuscript might have had the input of many people, it would still one day be published under the name of one – who might in turn reference others in print, elicit further written responses, or even merely await their praise or condemnation in person. Print publications, on the other hand, could show themselves on occasion to be flexible. New title pages or dedications could be printed if necessary, something we see happen in Terracina's works, thanks to deaths or changes in the political climate, for example. Additions and changes were made at

³⁷³ Although there are no known examples in Terracina's case, gift manuscripts are another example of so-called 'closed' manuscripts, which would not be expected to elicit revisions. Vittoria Colonna's manuscripts for Marguerite de Navarre and Michelangelo are examples of this. See Vittoria Colonna, *Sonnets for Michelangelo. A Bilingual Edition*, ed. and trans. by Abigail Brundin (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2005).

will, such as the addition of Doni's *Diceria d'Amore* to Terracina's *Rime*. Publishers were constantly looking for ways to alter texts that might allow them to reprint works as having 'nuovi sonetti' or similar to encourage sales, or to allow them to sidestep 'restrictive' *privilegi*.³⁷⁴

In turn, evidence from extant sixteenth-century books is indicative of how contemporary readers did not view printed texts as 'fixed' or inviolable. Most readers would have had some education – evidently they could read, if not write – and thus would have noticed the spelling and grammar errors which often peppered sixteenth-century books. For example, the copy of Terracina's *Settime rime* held in Liverpool University's Sydney Jones library bears the evidence of one early reader correcting spelling mistakes and scansion, demonstrating how early modern books were not considered monolithic or infallible.³⁷⁵ The reader clearly believed that there were adjustments that could, and should, be made, although whether this is from comparison with a manuscript, or simply his or her own revisions, is unknown.

In conclusion, it is overly schematic to understand manuscripts as collaborative and printed books as monolithic, especially for an author such as Terracina, who troubles the boundary of authorial control in such interesting and informative ways. It will never be possible to draw definitive boundaries between the input of Terracina and of various men around her both into her manuscripts and her printed works, or even manuscripts prepared for publication such as the *Nono libro*, and to seek to do so would be useless labour. Similarly, however, it is premature to dismiss Terracina and

³⁷⁴ For more on this, see Jonathan R. Olsen, ' 'Newly Amended and Much Enlarged': Claims of Novelty and Enlargement on the Title Pages of Reprints in the Early Modern English Book Trade', *History of European Ideas*, 42 (2016), 618-28.

³⁷⁵ *Settime rime* (Naples: Mattia Cancer, 1567), classmark SPEC L51.24. See also chapter six of this dissertation.

her works as 'merely' the product of the presses, as though she herself never wrote anything or, conversely, as though it is not interesting to understand the print phenomenon as it might relate to a writing woman in the sixteenth century. The next section will turn to consider how a woman who had negotiated access to the world of print might use it to her advantage.

III. Using the Book

As we have seen, Laura Terracina was at the heart of a busy cultural network in Naples, with a web of contacts that spread across Italy. This chapter will examine how that web was spun, reinforced and manipulated by Terracina through her printed works. Understanding how Terracina used her books as a social tool not only allows us to appreciate her as an adept self-promoter, but also to appreciate generally the dynamics of (self-)promotion for writing women in sixteenth-century Italy. As Brian Richardson has noted, '[p]rint [...] provided another means of self-fashioning'.³⁷⁶ Terracina used her poetry collections, both the verse itself and its culturally loaded paratexts, to create in her reading public an image of herself as a well-connected, humble but authoritative female author. Terracina addressed poetry and dedicated books to an extraordinarily wide range of contacts, fully exploiting the burgeoning medium of print to enhance her own social capital.³⁷⁷ At the same time as she diligently managed her profile, however, she was also being used by others as a means to improve or burnish their own reputation, and this chapter will look in some detail at how this dynamic is worked out with male and female contacts.

The importance of literary works as a means of social advancement in sixteenth-century Italy should not be understated. For the first time, some men could depend on the pen for their livelihood and found that it could also give those of non-aristocratic classes social cachet and cultural authority.³⁷⁸ With print runs of 1000

³⁷⁶ 'Inscribed Meanings: Authorial Self-Fashioning and Readers' Annotations in Sixteenth-Century Italian Printed Books', in *Reading and Literacy in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. by Ian Frederick Moulton (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), pp. 85-104 (p. 88).

³⁷⁷ On the concept of social capital, see *Pierre Bourdieu. Key Concepts*, ed. by Michael Grenfell (Stocksfield: Acumen, 2008), pp. 101-17.

³⁷⁸ Marotti, 'Patronage, Poetry, and Print', p. 25.

copies or higher typical,³⁷⁹ an author could reach a greater social range of readers than ever before. As Roger Chartier has noted, 'the circulation of printed matter modifies a cultural equilibrium',³⁸⁰ so that courting a large mass of bourgeois individuals could reap social rewards comparable to only courting a few powerful (ultra-)patrons. Indeed, Arthur Marotti has argued for the growing importance of the reader alongside the nominal patron, the reader becoming 'the 'patron' of the work as buyer and consumer in the modern sense of the word 'patronage''.³⁸¹

Theoretical and historical work on patronage in early modern Europe is a useful frame for understanding how Terracina conceptualised her relationships with those up and down the social scale as displayed in her books. The Italian language makes a distinction between two types of patronage, *mecenatismo*, patronage of the arts, and *clientelismo*, political patronage.³⁸² Terracina's verse displays aspects of both categories: she writes on demand, in expectation of financial and social reward. The complexity of her relationships with her readers-friends-patrons fits Patricia Simons' view of patronage as a process rather than a system, leading to 'a more fluid, less deterministic, sense of how patron and client operated'.³⁸³ Moreover, importantly, Terracina is in a position to both receive and dispense favours. While she personally directs her flattery up the social scale towards nobles and prestigious authors, she also

³⁷⁹ Brian Richardson, 'Publication', in *The Cambridge Companion to the Italian Renaissance*, ed. by Michael Wyatt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp. 164-78 (p. 169).

³⁸⁰ Roger Chartier, *The Cultural Uses of Print in Early Modern France* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987).

³⁸¹ Marotti, 'Patronage, Poetry, and Print', p. 2.

³⁸² Gary Ianziti, 'Patronage and the Production of History: The Case of Quattrocento Milan', in *Patronage, Art and Society*, ed. by Kent, Simons and Eade, pp. 299-311 (p. 300).

³⁸³ F.W. Kent and Patricia Simons, 'Renaissance Patronage: An Introductory Essay' in *Patronage, Art and Society*, ed. by Kent, Simons and Eade, pp. 1-21 (p. 19).

grants space in her books to lesser authors who capitalise upon her name, and cultivates a broad base among the (upper-)middle classes, as in the *Settime rime*. Her practice is a good example of the day-to-day realities of the patronage (in both senses of the word) process outside the highest echelons of society. As Guy Fitch Lytle argues, '[l]inks spread both upwards and downwards in society. Most middling men were patrons to some and clients to others'.³⁸⁴ Moreover, it should be noted that Terracina's friendly and occasionally intimate tone with her correspondents does not exclude these relationships from being understood within a theoretical framework of patronage, as "'Friendship' could be both synonym and antithesis of 'patronage'".³⁸⁵ Expressions of friendship and affection, selflessly given, could easily exist alongside a more 'expectant' relationship.

Inevitably, the majority of those engaged in these patronage networks were male, but women could also be participants: 'female patrons, whose correspondents were often other women, provided some of their sex with a socially acceptable means of acquiring favours and influencing events'.³⁸⁶ The combination of the two above factors, the changing social make-up of the world of print and dynamic patronage relationships, did allow some determined women to push beyond the socially constructed boundaries of their sex, as readers and as writers. Terracina's collections of poetry illustrate the dual movement of social networking using the printed book: dedications work up the social scale, while cultivating a mass readership fosters a broad base of (financial) success down the social scale. In the words of Jan van Dorsten writing about Elizabethan England, '[a]uthors dedicated books in order to gain support for a cause

³⁸⁴ 'Friendship and Patronage', in *Patronage, Art and Society*, ed. by Kent, Simons and Eade, pp. 47-61 (p. 49).

³⁸⁵ Fitch Lytle, 'Friendship and Patronage', p. 55.

³⁸⁶ Kent and Simons, 'Renaissance Patronage', in *Patronage, Art and Society*, ed. by Kent, Simons and Eade, pp. 1-21 (p. 7).

or to draw attention to their loyalty and personal expertise in an attempt to improve their own social position through “preferment””.³⁸⁷ This is a useful frame for understanding Terracina’s use of her lyric poetry as a social tool: her ‘cause’ was her own literary and moral reputation. She could dedicate whole works to powerful individuals, while addressing single verses to other, often less prestigious, figures, so weaving a broad web of contacts and supporters in all directions. Helen Smith captures the complexity of such multivalent dedications, which ‘can be at once sites of rhetorical play, peritextual structures designed to constrain and direct the reader, and elements of the complex system of patronage that drew together social, political, and religious, as well as literary, life’.³⁸⁸

Natalie Zemon Davis, as mentioned above, has theorised the place of the book in a sixteenth-century gift economy, arguing specifically that a dedication inserted the book into a gift relation.³⁸⁹ As a book was a liberal gift, ‘[o]ne did not always know when the return on the gift would come’,³⁹⁰ but the expectation was that some reward or advancement, tangible or intangible, would be forthcoming. Moreover, Zemon Davis argues that while men – who might have been dominant in many aspects of their own lives – might have ‘chafed at the humiliations of begging favour and at the dissimulation and extravagant language of request and thanks’, ‘women did not appear troubled by the demands of reciprocity’.³⁹¹ Indeed, Terracina is adept at

³⁸⁷ ‘Literary Patronage in Elizabethan England: The Early Phase’, in *Patronage in the Renaissance*, ed. by Guy Fitch Lytle and Stephen Orgel (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), pp. 191-206 (p. 192).

³⁸⁸ Smith, ‘*Grossly Material Things*’, p. 57. See pp. 54-9 of this work for an overview of existing scholarship on patronage and dedications.

³⁸⁹ *The Gift*, p. 78.

³⁹⁰ *The Gift*, p. 108.

³⁹¹ *The Gift*, p. 211.

language of subjugation and self-denigration, taking an almost extravagant pleasure in her displays of humility. She scatters verse to her (potential) supporters like confetti, and in some cases displays the result by including laudatory poetry from some of her more literary contacts. Just as frequently, however, 'in many cases their [dedicatees'] names mainly functioned as (misleading) signs of celebrity-endorsement'.³⁹²

The people whom Terracina apostrophises over the course of her collections come from all sorts of different worlds: the Church, politics, nobility and high culture. Some of them combined social status with literary renown, such as Ferrante Carafa and Cardinal Pietro Bembo. Although the dedicatees of her works are generally male, she includes reasonable numbers of highborn, and occasionally culturally influential, women within her works too, which suggests that she did not regard male or female addressees as more or less efficacious.³⁹³ There are a surprising number of non-noble names too; Virginia Cox suggests that Terracina was 'sufficiently indigent to make herself poetically accessible to potential "admirers" in a way that more securely stationed noblewomen did not'.³⁹⁴ Rather than attempt to list Terracina's hundreds of social contacts, I will explore some representative figures who embody Terracina's networking strategies in interesting ways: Isabella Colonna and Michelangelo Buonarroti; Scipione Ammirato and Pietro Antonio Sanseverino; and Herina Scanderbech.

Isabella Colonna (d.1570) is the lauded female dedicatee of canto XX of the *Discorso*, an example of a socially powerful contact whom Terracina sought to court. A noblewoman living in Naples, Colonna's early life was tumultuous, marked by family

³⁹² Marotti, 'Patronage, Poetry, and Print', p. 2.

³⁹³ The clear exception to this is the *Settime rime*, discussed below.

³⁹⁴ Cox, *Women's Writing*, p. 101.

infighting, feuding over wills, and a secret marriage. Having married her second husband Filippo di Lannoy, Colonna continued to be embroiled in legal and military disputes over land.³⁹⁵ During her lifetime, however, she was also in contact with literary circles, exchanging letters with Antonio Minturno, and receiving a poem from Berardino Rota.³⁹⁶ It was perhaps her pugnacious and determined nature which led Terracina to choose her as an addressee for this canto's particular theme: female achievement. The poem is typically encomiastic, praising the 'chiaro lume' of Isabella, a 'vivo et abondante fiume' of 'virtù'. The language used is Petrarchan, with Terracina claiming her heart is assaulted 'mille volte il dì' by her addressee's 'bel valore'. However, the poet is then in essence able to use the cover and praise of a female addressee in order to further her own agenda and counter the arguments of contemporary misogynists. Although Terracina concedes that not all women are perfect, nonetheless '[n]on si può macular l'honor di tante / Per una o duo che fosser stolte e vane'.³⁹⁷ Isabella Colonna is held up as an example to prove that sixteenth-century women could reach the heights of their classical forebears: 'Voi l'arme oprate, o donna, e la scrittura / Come le donne antique opravan spesso'.³⁹⁸ It is notable that Terracina is defending physical, not simply intellectual, ability in women. The final stanza of the canto reaches a climax in an image of united women coming together to ensure their place in the world and in the pantheon:

Hora lasciamo l'opre femminile

Et sequemo con voi l'arme e poesia,

³⁹⁵ See the entry for Isabella Colonna by Franca Petrucci in the *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* <<http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/ricerca/isabella-colonna/>> [accessed 25 April 2018].

³⁹⁶ Passing references to Isabella Colonna can also be found in *Orlando Furioso* XXXVII, ll. 65-88 (stanzas 9-11) and XLV, ll. 61-4 (stanza 8).

³⁹⁷ *Discorso*, XX, ll. 25-6.

³⁹⁸ *Discorso*, XX, ll. 33-4.

Et quanto semo basse, ultime e vile
Tanto essaltiamo la nostra balia.
Il cor tiene più l'huom di noi gentile;
Tutti nasciemo equal per una via:
Sapho e Corinna, perché furon dotte,
Splendono illustri e mai non veggon notte.³⁹⁹

It would be far-fetched to suggest that Terracina expected to see her words bring about a seismic cultural shift of the type she advocates. However, by addressing her argument to another woman, and moreover a powerful noblewoman, she creates a network of female support and dynamism that is harder to dismiss, as will be discussed further below. Adopting the first person plural, she places in the reader's mind the idea of women working together to disrupt established criteria of worth and achieve their own immortality.

Indeed, immortality is a constant theme of Terracina's encomiastic poetry. Although an important figure in the cultural world, Michelangelo Buonarroti (1475-1564) is an unexpected figure to appear in the midst of Terracina's poetry as the dedicatee of canto XXXIII of the *Discorso*. Terracina addresses Michelangelo as a visual artist, rather than as a poet, although his poetry circulated in the sixteenth century, and indeed he had a fruitful spiritual and poetic relationship with Vittoria Colonna.⁴⁰⁰ During his life Michelangelo composed over 300 poems, and came close to publishing some 105 of them. Although this plan never came to fruition, Michelangelo was recognised as a poet in his own era, and in 1547 Benedetto Varchi gave two lectures in Florence which

³⁹⁹ *Discorso*, XX, ll. 57-64.

⁴⁰⁰ See Christopher Ryan, *The Poetry of Michelangelo: An Introduction* (London: Athlone Press, 1998) and Vittoria Colonna, *Sonnets for Michelangelo*.

centred around Michelangelo's poetry, the transcripts of which were published in 1550.⁴⁰¹ Michelangelo met Vittoria Colonna in 1536 or 1538 and their close friendship, marked both by poetic exchange and religious discussion, continued until her premature death in 1547. Her influence upon Michelangelo's later poetry is undeniable.⁴⁰²

So why does Terracina choose Michelangelo as a recipient? A clue lies in the fifth verse of the canto, in which Terracina refers to 'quel dotto Ariosto, alto e divino' who wrote 'di voi Michele Angelo mio invitto' '[n]el Furioso suo'.⁴⁰³ The painter was both suggested by her source text, and provided an excuse to remind the reader of her link to Ariosto's popular poem. It is striking, however, that although Terracina appears almost obsessed with writing and its role through the canto, she chooses not to make reference to Michelangelo in that light: he is confined to his role as an admittedly unparalleled artist, as he has always been in the popular imagination. While Michelangelo is celebrated as the 'unico ingegno' of the 'saggio pannel',⁴⁰⁴ Terracina is preoccupied with the immortalising role of writers rather than visual artists. In her world view, infinite artists and warriors would have been lost to posterity if they had not been preserved in manuscripts and books:

Chi seria di poi morte, unqua nomati,
 Si li scrittor di lor no havesson cura:
 O Cesare, o Pompeo, o voi Torquati,

⁴⁰¹ James M. Saslow, *The Poetry of Michelangelo: An Annotated Translation* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1991), p. 1.

⁴⁰² Colonna, *Sonnets for Michelangelo*, pp. 26-9; Saslow, p. 18.

⁴⁰³ *Discorso*, XXXIII, ll. 33-6.

⁴⁰⁴ *Discorso*, XXXIII, l. 6.

O Fabbio, o Scipion senza paura,
Non sarrestive al mondo divvolgati
Si li scrittor di voi, co' ogni misura,
No' havesser scritto, né serrian qui noto
Timagora, Parrasi, e Polignoto.⁴⁰⁵

As well as the ancients, more modern well-known names are also told that they owe a debt of gratitude towards their pen-wielding saviours:

Si quel dotto Ariosto, alto e divino,
Nel Furioso suo, non havesse scritto
Di Leonardo, Andrea e Gianbellino,
Et di voi Michele Angelo mio invitto,
Di Bastian, di Raphael di Urbino,
Chi li sapria nomar, che ne havria ditto?
Né farria tra pittori un ver thesoro
E Zeusi e li altri ch'a quei tempi foro.⁴⁰⁶

The implication is clear: that in spite of their great deeds, these men and women are beholden to writers.

Scipione Ammirato (1531-1600) is a figure who brings together nobility with literary renown, born into a noble Tuscan family and a renowned intellectual and historian. After studying in his youth in Naples, Ammirato's travels took him back to Tuscany

⁴⁰⁵ *Discorso* canto XXXIII, ll. 9-16.

⁴⁰⁶ *Discorso* canto XXXIII, ll. 33-40.

and to Rome, although he did return to Naples as an adult. A number of elements might have rendered him of particular interest to Terracina: he was linked to the publication of the *Orlando Furioso* during time in Venice, and eventually published a work entitled *Delle famiglie nobili napoletane*,⁴⁰⁷ and was also a canon.⁴⁰⁸ It is clear that a man of noble birth with serious intellectual and religious credentials would have been a useful contact for Terracina and she is fulsome in her praise of ‘rima alta, e compita / Ch’ogni basso pensier pone in cacume’ which will ensure the immortality of his ‘immortal virtute’.⁴⁰⁹ Indeed, Ammirato is credited with inspiring her to ‘righar carte’, another means by which the addressee can be praised for their cultural value: not only do they produce themselves, they are to thank for the literary production of many others.

Later works by Terracina show a tighter focus on social networks in and around Naples. A plausible explanation for this might be the desire on the poet’s part to consolidate her local position and standing, alongside national renown. Terracina was likely composing both the *Discorso* and the *Quarte rime*, published in close succession, at a similar time. The *Discorso* is broad and ambitious in scope; the *Quarte rime* feels more familiar and overtly seeks a supportive readership among her fellow Neapolitans, as does the following *Quinte rime*. Notably, the Prince and Princess of Bisignano, Pietro Antonio Sanseverino (1508-1559) and Herina Scanderbech (d.1565), play a major role. Pietro Antonio Sanseverino represented a branch of the important Sanseverino clan, so would have been a notable local supporter. Herina was Pietro Antonio’s second wife after Giulia Orsini, whose sister was married to Luigi Carafa:

⁴⁰⁷ *Delle famiglie nobili napoletane* (Florence: Giorgio Marescotti, 1580).

⁴⁰⁸ *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* entry on Scipione Ammirato, (‘AMMIRATO, Scipione’, Rodolfo De Mattei < <http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/scipione-ammirato/> > [accessed 27 April 2018]).

⁴⁰⁹ *Quinte rime*, p. 26^r.

it is immediately clear how closely entwined Naples's premier families were.⁴¹⁰ The *Quarte rime* are dedicated to Pietro Antonio, while the *Quinte rime* are dedicated to Herina, but the exact wording of the dedication to the latter helps to elucidate how power structures functioned both within society and within marriage. Although addressed 'alla illustrissima et eccellentissima signora Herina Scanderbec Principessa di Bisignano', the dedication opens with a lengthy list of her husband's attributes and virtues, to which praise of Herina herself is merely appended:

Così come tra gli huomini e tra prencipi ho sempre giudicato il primo, il magnanimo, il generoso, il saggio, e 'l costante signor Pietro Antonio Sanseverino Principe di Bisignano, così anchora tra le donne e tra le prencipesse ho giudicata prima l'illustrissima Henrina Scandarbec sua divina moglie.⁴¹¹

Although Terracina then goes on to describe Herina in glowing terms and to commend the book of poetry to her care, the implication is clear: the *Quinte rime* are a tool to access Pietro Antonio through an acceptable, 'soft' route, that of his wife. Her beauty and virtues all redound to his glory, rather than standing independently. It is as though Terracina, although choosing a female dedicatee, cannot fully relinquish the opportunity to flatter associated powerful men.⁴¹²

⁴¹⁰ *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* entry on Giulio Cesare Caracciolo ('CARACCILO, Giulio Cesare', by Giovanni Parenti < [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giulio-cesare-caracciolo_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)>](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giulio-cesare-caracciolo_(Dizionario-Biografico)>) [accessed 27 April 2018]).

⁴¹¹ *Quinte rime*, p. 7^v.

⁴¹² For more on the issues surrounding male and female dedicatees, see Cox, *Women's Writing*, pp. 154-57.

Within the *Quinte rime*, both spouses are showered with praise, Herina receiving seven poems in dedication, some lengthy, and Pietro Antonio four, one of which is also a lengthy madrigal. One sonnet in particular demonstrates well how Terracina related to people of such wealth and status, by creating a web of shared experiences and binding them with poetry:

Ecco, c'homai d'appresso e non da lunge
Cantar conviemmi in questa spiaggia amena,
Poi che dal mar'è uscita mia serena,
La qual sovente la mia lingua punge.

Ecco, che 'l biondo Apollo, hor lima, hor unge,
Più del dover la rozza e secca lena,
E con più dolce e diletta vena
Vuol ch'io ricanti, e seco al ciel m'aggiunge.

Ecco di miei pensier gli almi soggiorni,
Ecco pur di Sebeto l'onde pronte
Correr nel lito a par del gran Metauro.

Ecco la speme di miei tristi giorni;
Ecco quel sacro e honorato Monte
In cui spero inalzar mio basso lauro.⁴¹³

The immediacy of the visual language, reiterated by the repetition of 'Ecco', gives a sense of freshness, even of speech, to the word on the printed page. It makes Terracina's appeal to her addressees compelling and immediate, working to dispel

⁴¹³ *Quinte rime*, p. 34^r.

any sense of staleness around a collection of poems all seeking to apostrophise someone, a technique which risks losing its force.

Terracina as a pen-for-hire

Outsiders do not only appear in Terracina's collections when she apostrophises them in poetry or prose. The voices of others frequently disrupt her work with their own concerns, which contributes to the sense of community and network-building. Interjections of this kind are distinct from the choral anthologies which will be discussed below. Rather than an equitable exchange of poetry of the kind which might be found in a choral anthology, in this section I will consider the poetry which is included in Terracina's published works, but written by or for someone else. Poetry of this type falls into three categories: poetry written at the behest of another; poetry written by another poet to a third party; and poetry ambiguously written 'per' a third party.

The first category, poetry written at the behest of others, sometimes to a third party, is signalled by a variety of introductory formulae, 'ad istantia di' being the most common, but with 'a preghiera di' and 'a compiacenza di' also being found. For example, in the *Seste rime* 2, we find a sonnet addressed 'all'Illustrissimo Conte d'Anversa ad istantia di Miser Marc'Antonio Passero risposta'. It is unclear whether Terracina writes this sonnet in response to one addressed *to her* by the Conte d'Anversa because Passero encourages her to, or whether Terracina writes it in response to a sonnet by the Conte d'Anversa written to Passero himself. In the latter case, Passero would have somehow encouraged, incited, or employed Terracina to write a response instead of doing so himself. The contents of the sonnet do not elucidate the question. In another example from the *Seconda parte*, Terracina composes an *ottava* 'a compiacenza del S. Lodovico', an unremarkable poem which is firmly rooted in the Petrarchan idiom:

Se 'l bel sol che mi scalda il petto e il core
Non m'agghiacciasse le mie voglie ardenti,
Ogni pena, ogn' affanno, ogni dolore,
Nulla saria fra gli amorosi accenti,
Ma, perché vince il mio, quel suo valore,
L'aria accend'io sol di sospir cocenti,
E con questi cordogli e queste pene
Mi pasco sol di vento e sol di spene.⁴¹⁴

This demonstrates, within her own collections, how Terracina was happy to accommodate others, composing poetry at their request. This willingness to use her pen at the behest of others is likely reflective of her social position and gender, which forced her to maintain good relations with her social circles, but it also extends the reach of her poetry, allowing her to write to third parties whom otherwise she would not have known to approach.

The second category includes poems written by another poet to a third party, in a public portrayal of a relationship in which Terracina seems to have no place. Rather, another poet is simply given the space in one of her published works to display their own skill.⁴¹⁵ Giovanni Alfonso Mantegna, a frequent correspondent and poetic contact of Terracina, is the primary example of a poet lucky enough to gain exposure in this

⁴¹⁴ *Seconda parte*, p. 83^v.

⁴¹⁵ I have found no evidence to suggest that this was a particularly Neapolitan phenomenon, aside from the fact of Terracina's close relationship with the city's intellectual scene.

fashion.⁴¹⁶ Dedications to both the *Quarte rime* and *Quinte rime* make clear that Mantegna acted as editor for both of these volumes, particularly thanks to his skill with Tuscan.⁴¹⁷ Perhaps as a means of returning the favour Terracina's *Quinte rime* presents, in effect, a *canzoniere*-in-miniature of his. A group of four sonnets, one *sestina*, two madrigals and two *canzoni* towards the end of the work place Mantegna at the centre of his own social circle.⁴¹⁸ The poems show Mantegna carrying out his own social and amorous courtships, as though emulating in miniature not only the major male poets of his day, but the work of the successful woman to whose coattails he is clinging. While within a lyric anthology such a grouping is not remarkable, within the poetry collection of a named author, it is unexpected. It raises the question of whether he may have had a financial interest in the publication, as well as acting as Terracina's editor. She herself is deposed both as poet and as the object of poetic praise in favour of others, effectively erased from a number of pages within her own work.

So why does this happen? There are a few plausible reasons. First, having sought Mantegna's help for the editing and publication of the *Quarte rime* and *Quinte rime*, as the prefatory material of those works show, she was indebted to him. By allowing him

⁴¹⁶ Jaffe speculates that Mantegna was tortured by unrequited love for Terracina; how this squares with his lengthy letter in praise of his beloved in the *Quinte rime* is not addressed (Jaffe, *Shining Eyes*, pp. 175-77). See also Giovanni Alfonso Mantegna, *Rime*, ed. by Maria Rosaria Bifulco (Rome: Biblioteca Italiana, 2005).

⁴¹⁷ See the dedication to the *Quarte rime* in particular.

⁴¹⁸ 'Del signor Giovan' Alfonso Mantegna alla gentil Signora Coliala', p. 49^r, sonnet; 'Del signor Giovan' Alfonso Mantegna alla Signora Oli. Lag. et a compiacenza del signor Ferrante Gal.', p. 49^v, *sestina*; one sonnet and two madrigals follow, pp. 50^r-50^v, which are untitled love songs in a male voice, so are likely also by Mantegna; 'Canzone del signor Giovan' Alfonso Mantegna alla sua vertuosa et bella signora Forminia', pp. 51^r-52^v; a canzone and two sonnets by Mantegna complete the group, pp. 52^v-54^r.

to showcase his poetic skill, she returned a favour and ensured his ongoing support. It also increases the impression that Terracina is not enclosed within her own circle, but part of a wider, spreading network of poets. An exchange of capitals seems to be publicly enacted: Terracina's publication capital is exchanged for Mantegna's literary and gender capital, his educated presence adding lustre to her verse.

The third way by which other poets seem to avail themselves of Terracina is found in both editions of the *Seste rime*, as well as the *Nono libro*: they show a novel and unexpected form of choral anthology that has been critically unremarked. A number of Terracina's poems across all her works are accompanied by a rubric 'a' ('to'), 'di' ('from'), and 'a preghiera di' or 'ad instantia di' ('at the request of'). However, a substantial minority of the poetry in the *Seste rime 2* comes entitled 'per' someone, such as 'Per il signor Polidoro Terracina', 'Per Messer Giovan Passaro, al Magnifico Vicentio Stanga da Mantua' and 'Per lo Signor Ottaviano Folliero'. The meaning of 'per' in this context is not immediately clear, as it could be either 'for' or 'by'. This distinction could have a major impact on our interpretation of the collection, bearing in mind that the *Seste rime 1* has 22 poems 'per' Polidoro Terracina, and the *Seste rime 2* around 48 poems 'per' the same man,⁴¹⁹ not counting poems 'per' other individuals. To assume that 'per' within a collection means 'for' is inadequate in light of titles which identify works 'per Laura Terracina' clearly meaning 'by Laura Terracina'. The very earliest editions of the *Discorso* were published under the title *Discorso sopra tutti li primi canti d'Orlando Furioso fatti [sic] per la signora Laura Terracina* (Giolito, 1549 in fine 1550) and *Discorso sopra tutti i primi canti d'Orlando Furioso. Fatto per la signora Laura Terracina: detta degl'Incogniti Febea* (Giolito, 1550). This trend in naming continued with Giolito's new editions of the *Discorso* until 1560, and was adopted by other publishers who brought out the work, Farri in 1560 and 1561, and Francesco i Rampazetto in

⁴¹⁹ Precisely how many poems are 'per' Polidoro is not clear, as a sequence of untitled sonnets on several occasions follows one poem 'per' Polidoro.

1564.⁴²⁰ However, it is also impossible to say that ‘per’ always means ‘for’ and not ‘by’, given the evidence from the poetry collections of Laura Battiferra. Battiferra’s *Primo libro delle opere toscane* contains a use of ‘per’ within a lyric collection in a manner directly comparable to Terracina’s use.⁴²¹ Notably Victoria Kirkham, the editor of the 2006 edition of the *Primo libro*, does not comment upon Battiferra’s use of ‘per’ and ‘a’, translating them as ‘for’ and ‘to’, and having no doubt that poems ‘per’ an individual are by Battiferra to a recipient. In Kirkham’s edition, I count nine poems addressed with ‘per’, plus one reproduced in a photograph in the introduction.⁴²² These ‘per’ poems exist alongside a larger number of ‘a’ poems. There is no doubt that they are authored by Battiferra. As an illustrative example, sonnet 27 ‘Per la signora donna Hieronima Colonna’ is the same sonnet that appeared in Ottavio Sammarco’s *Il Tempio della divina signora donna Geronima Colonna D’Aragona* from Battiferra.⁴²³

If we look at the manuscript of Terracina’s *Nono libro* (1577), a collection of sonnets introduced as ‘conposti per la signora Laura Terracina’, the issue remains unsettled.

⁴²⁰ Terracina is also not the only author identified in titles in this way with ‘per’. Other examples, taken from different genres, include Andrea Lottini, *Calculi e conti per quelli che hanno danari nel christianissimo re di Francia, fatti per Andrea Lottini* (Lyons: Michael Sylvio, 1556) and Eustachio Celebrino, *Il successo de tutti gli fatti che fece il duca di Borbone in Italia[...] con la presa di Roma. Per Eustachio Celebrino composto* (Venice: Francesco Bindoni & mapheo Pasini compagni, 1542).

⁴²¹ The *Primo libro* was first published in 1560; I used Kirkham’s Other Voice edition (2006), based on Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze, MS Magliabecchiano 7.778.

⁴²² Found on page 7 of the introduction. In Enrico Maria Giudi’s edition of Battiferra’s work, there are five sonnets addressed with ‘per’ (Laura Battiferra degli Ammannati, *Il Primo libro delle opere toscane*, ed. by Enrico Maria Guidi (Urbino: Accademia Raffaello, Collana di studi e testi, 2000)).

⁴²³ *Il Tempio della divina signora donna Geronima Colonna D’Aragona* (Padua: Lorenzo Pasquati, 1568); Battiferra, *Laura Battiferra*, p. 383.

For example, the sonnet 'Per il signor Fabio Terracina alla sua consorte'⁴²⁴ from its grammar and content seems clearly written by Fabio Terracina, and two octaves 'Per Polidoro Terracina' explicitly refer to a beloved Laura and is written in a male voice:

Deh dove senza me dolce mia vita
Rimasta sei sì piena di dolore?
Come può star di duol l'alma espedita
Senza la vista mia, senza il mio core?
Non potrà il mondo far ogni aita
Dar fin sì presto al nostro antiquo amore?
Questo non sarrà mai, né vedrassi anco
Che di sequirvi mi vedrò mai stanco.

Pensier crudel ch'il cor m'agghiacci et ardi
Et causi il duol ch'ogn'hor mi rode et lima,
Perch'a tanto mio mal non miri e sguardi?
Poichè Laura non m'ode et né m'estima,
Tu dormi et amor voglia et troppo tardi
A par nel basso la mia debil cima
Quel c'hai da far sia presto, et non patire
C'habbi tanti martir da un sol martire.⁴²⁵

⁴²⁴ MS Palatino 229, fols 96^r-96^v.

⁴²⁵ *Nono libro*, MS Palatino 299, fols 104^r-104^v.

On the other hand, the poem in *terza rima* 'Nella morte del Reverendo Abbate Antonio Terracina Prothonotario Apostolico per il signor Polidoro'⁴²⁶ is in a female voice (for example, 'Io qui rimasa in tenebroso errore' and 'Fussi morta io che quel c'hor vedo et sento'). The poem with the rubric 'Al signor Lutio Piscicello fatto per la signora Dianora sua consorte'⁴²⁷ which one would expect to be in a female voice, is instead in a male one, possibly because Terracina wrote it on behalf of Piscicello in his voice:

Stanco già di mirar, non satio ancora,
 Perché la tua bellezza è tanto e tale
 Che tutto il mondo spanta e'nnamora
 Come beltà divina et immortale.
 Tant'anni t'ho mirato, et parni [sic] un'ora
 Et quanto più te mir, più amor mi sale
 Talchè per gelosia tanto odio ho meco
 Ch'ogn'un vorrei solo io che fosse cieco.⁴²⁸

There are various possibilities. If poems 'per' someone are written by Terracina on their behalf, she was very publicly acting as a literary pawn or pen-for-hire, writing on behalf of men to their correspondents: 'Per Messer Giovan Paulo Passaro, al Magnifico Vicentio Stanga da Mantua'. If this is the case, such behaviour is unique as far as I am aware in sixteenth-century anthologies. If, on the other hand, Terracina is devoting substantial sections of her work to poetry by other authors, then this is also

⁴²⁶ *Nono libro*, MS Palatino 229, fols 73^v-74^v.

⁴²⁷ *Nono libro*, MS Palatino 229, fols 104^v [sic] -115^r.

⁴²⁸ *Nono libro*, MS Palatino 299, fols 104^v [sic] -115^r. The first line of this poem is a quotation from Petrarch's *Triumphus Cupidinis*, II. 1. My thanks to Brian Richardson for this reference, and for the suggestion that the poem may have been written on Piscicello's behalf.

extremely unusual, and raises important questions about what she hoped to gain from this. The *proposta/risposta* model is effective because it places the poet at the heart of a literary network, but simply giving away space is quite a different matter. The third option is an unsatisfying compromise, but a distinct possibility: 'per' signifies 'by' or 'for' depending on the context, and the reader must be relied upon to interpret.

This leaves interesting questions about how Terracina's own contemporaries would have understood the meaning of this one small word. Would they have better known how to interpret its use than we do today? If so, is this because they were familiar with the context in which the poetry was written, or because it was an unusual but recognised phenomenon? Indeed, it is difficult to believe that readers as far apart as Lucca (*Seste rime* 1) and Naples (*Seste rime* 2, *Nono libro*) would have had shared knowledge of the context of composition. Instead, we could contextualise the issue in light of a contemporary reader's looser understanding of 'authorship' in this period.⁴²⁹ Given that 'collaboration was a prevalent mode of textual production in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries',⁴³⁰ we risk anachronism in looking too hard for the single author. Renaissance readers may simply have been less concerned than we are with questions of attribution. On the other hand, if this is so, this may also explain why there are distinct efforts by Terracina and her publishers, with pictures, dedicatory letters and dedicated poems, to imprint the collection with the mark of its author in other ways. While collaboration may have been very important, Terracina's individual identity was also a major draw to potential readers. The next section will

⁴²⁹ For more on collaborative authorship, see Margaret J.M. Ezell, *Social Authorship and the Advent of Print* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999); Heather Hirschfield, 'Early Modern Collaboration and Theories of Authorship', in *Proceedings of the Modern Language Association*, 116 (2001), 609-22; Helen Smith, 'Grossly Material Things'.

⁴³⁰ Jeffrey Masten, *Textual Intercourse: Collaboration, Authorship, and Sexualities in Renaissance Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 4.

look at how the image of the poet was further embellished through her public relationships with other women.

Women and the choral anthology

The creation of relationships of mutual esteem and respect could be particularly important for women, who were in need of external legitimisation. One means by which they could do this was through the 'choral anthology'. The notion of the 'choral anthology' was first used by Victoria Kirkham in her invaluable work on Laura Battiferra's poetry, particularly the *Primo libro delle opere toscane* (1560).⁴³¹ As Kirkham describes it, '[o]ther poets too participate in this virtual salon that assembles some one hundred individuals in interchangeable roles as author, addressee, and respondent.'⁴³² Julia Hairston expanded upon the definition of the model, noting the difference in particular between the choral anthology – centred around one theme, normally the identity of the named author – and the lyric anthology, which is less restrictive in its themes.⁴³³

This description could be equally well applied to Terracina's work and, indeed, the adoption of this model of poetic collection by a number of female authors has been noted in works other than those by Battiferra.⁴³⁴ Virginia Cox and Julia Hairston have,

⁴³¹ Victoria Kirkham, 'Laura Battiferra degli Ammannati's *First Book of Poetry*. A Renaissance Holograph Comes Out of Hiding', *Rinascimento*, 36 (1996), 351-92 (p. 353).

⁴³² Kirkham, 'Laura Battiferra', p. 353.

⁴³³ Julia L. Hairston, 'Out of the Archive. Four Newly-Identified Figures in Tullia d'Aragona's "Rime della Signora Tullia di Aragona e di diversi a lei" (1547)', *MLN*, 18 (2003), 257-63 (p. 257).

⁴³⁴ See also Abigail Brundin, 'Presto fia 'l mio potere in farvi onore': Renaissance women poets and the importance of praise', in *Caro Vitto. Essays in Memory of Vittore Branca*, ed. by Jill Kraye

for example, both pointed out that Tullia d'Aragona's *Rime* could be classed as a choral anthology; Cox also sees Terracina's volumes and Battiferra's *Primo libro* as such.⁴³⁵ Although Gaspara Stampa's published works have not traditionally been classed as a 'choral anthology', primarily because critics have been more interested in finding an amorous biography in her *Rime amorose* and placed less weight on the *Rime varie*, Cox posits that 'it is possible that we are in possession of at least the nucleus of another [choral anthology], lurking unacknowledged within the curiously inchoate volume of *Rime* by Gaspara Stampa published in 1554'.⁴³⁶ Thanks to Stampa's premature death, we cannot know her original plans or conception of the collection. The work does however include a sequence of occasional poetry, beginning with paired sonnets to Henry II of France and his wife Catherine de' Medici. This section is separated in the 1554 edition, perhaps indicative that there was a manuscript break at this point. The order of the first poems, to a king and queen and then a trophy poet, Luigi Alamanni (1495-1556), recalls the opening of Tullia d'Aragona's *Rime* (1547) and Laura Battiferra's *Primo libro* (1560). Poems are written by Stampa to a variety of figures, some of whom can be identified from internal references, such as Domenico Venier and Sperone Speroni. Cox writes that 'if [her, Cox's] conjecture is correct, it may be that this largely encomiastic sequence constitutes the nucleus of a courtly and "honest" volume of poetry that Stampa was putting together toward the end of her life as part of a process of poetic "rebranding" also attested by her appearance, with a sonnet, in Ruscelli's *Tempio alla divina signora donna Giovanna d'Aragona*'.⁴³⁷

and Laura Lepschy, *The Italianist*, 27 (2007), 133-49, for more on the importance of praise between female poets of the Renaissance.

⁴³⁵ Cox, *Women's Writing*, pp. 108-09.

⁴³⁶ Cox, *Women's Writing*, p. 109.

⁴³⁷ Cox, *Women's Writing*, pp. 109-10. On Giovanna d'Aragona and this collection, see Diana Robin, 'D'Aragona, Giovanna', in *Encyclopedia of Women*, ed. by Robin, Larsen and Levin, pp. 22-24.

In the cases of Tullia d'Aragona and Laura Terracina, both of whom were launched as presumptive heirs into the void following Vittoria Colonna's death,⁴³⁸ the very choice of title defines and highlights the collection as a choral anthology. Giolito published D'Aragona under the title *Rime della Signora Tullia di Aragona et di diversi a lei*, and while Terracina's first volume was merely entitled *Rime della signora Laura Terracina*, the second published by Torrentino bore the title *Rime seconde della Signora Laura Terracina di Napoli e di diversi a lei*. Indeed, there is an argument to be made that it was Terracina's adoption of this style of collection which spurred on its vogue among female writers: she was safely middle class and respectable, unlike D'Aragona, a courtesan known for different types of relationship with male patrons, rendering her a dangerous model for other women.

Virginia Cox also differentiates Terracina from other women such as D'Aragona and Battiferra, who she claims use 'a carefully orchestrated series of poems to [...] Medici dedicatees', unlike Terracina who uses a 'looser and less hierarchical "typographical" model'.⁴³⁹ Certainly, Terracina is expansive in whom she addresses. One other important difference also separates Terracina, however, from other women who exploited the choral anthology. Their lives in print were all much shorter, not attaining Terracina's longevity, whether thanks to personal choice, death, or simply lack of popularity. As a result, Terracina presents us with a progression of works, almost all of which function in different ways as subtly varying styles of choral anthology. This raises a number of questions: how did Terracina's use of her contacts develop? Was the choral anthology particularly useful when corresponding with certain poetic circles? Is she in control of the form, or does it expose her own weaknesses as a writer?

⁴³⁸ Cox, *Women's Writing*, p. 80.

⁴³⁹ Cox, *Women's Writing*, p. 109.

An immediate overview of Terracina publications demonstrates at once how her use of the choral anthology waxed and waned over time.

Work	Publisher	Year	Total number of poems	Number of poems by Terracina	Number of poems by others	Notes
<i>Rime</i>	Giolito	1548	107	92	15	Poetry by others contained in short appendix.
<i>Seconde rime</i>	Torrentino	1549	139	92	47	Poetry by others contained in short appendix.
<i>Discorso</i>	Giolito	1549	71	58	13	Poetry by others contained in short appendix.
<i>Quarte rime</i>	Valvassori	1550	182	119 ⁴⁴⁰	63	Poems by others interspersed.

⁴⁴⁰ Where a group of unattributed or undedicated poems follow one poem by a named contributing poet, on the same theme and in the same style, I have assumed that they are by the same author (and not Terracina).

<i>Quinte rime</i>	Valvassori	1552	138 ⁴⁴¹	83	55	
<i>Seste rime</i>	Raymondo Amato	1560	361	302 ⁴⁴²	58	
<i>Settime rime</i>	Mattia Cancer	1561	221	217	4	All four poems not by Terracina have the same author.
<i>Seconda parte</i>	Valvassori	1567	56	53	3	Poetry by others contained in a short appendix.
<i>Nono libro</i>	N/A	1577	299	270	19	

In her first two works, the *Rime* and *Rime seconde*, the male contributors (and the occasional woman) are corralled to the end of the work, as though to prevent them from mingling too freely with the female author. The way in which their poetic contributions are presented is notably formal: when Terracina's poetry ends, a new section is announced of 'Rime di diversi ingegni generosi a la Signora Laura Terracina'. This format mirrors, for example, a funeral anthology, in which a number of poets and acquaintances pay their respects to a well-known figure, perhaps

⁴⁴¹ The series of sonnets entitled 'Al Cauriolo Mandato alla sua signora Forminia il quale sendo libero per se stesso nella camera di lei sen'ando' (*Quinte rime*, pp. 54^r-57^v) have not been attributed to Terracina here, on the basis that it follows poetry by Giovan'Alfonso Mantegna to a beloved named Forminia.

⁴⁴² There is a lack of clarity over whether a poem 'per' (e.g. 'Per Messer Giovan Paulo Passaro, al Magnifico Vicentio Stanga da Mantua') someone is 'by' or 'for' the person, as discussed above. For this number I have assumed the poem is by Terracina for the named dedicatee. The overarching point, that a large proportion of the work is by poets who are not Terracina, stands.

followed by final sections in Latin and Greek.⁴⁴³ The praise is often generic, the recipient of the praise was often unknown to the poet, and there is a strong sense of respecting form. What is lacking is a sense of real vitality and poetic correspondence, even if there was some exchange of work, and as in Terracina's case with members of the Incogniti, the recipient of the praise knew her admirers in life.

In its turn, the *Discorso* does not yet adopt the model of the choral anthology to its full potential. The *Discorso* is a self-consciously formal text: although Terracina draws attention to her own views, concerns and opinions, she does so in a highly controlled way. In part, this is due to the poetic form of the work. The *trasmutazione* is by its nature restrained by its source text,⁴⁴⁴ although the length of each canto allows Terracina a relatively extended period of exposition. This contrasts with the back-and-forth style allowed by sonnets, or the formal freedom of the madrigal. Rather than a glimpse into a thicket of poetic contacts and exchange, as is offered to the reader by the *Quarte rime* and *Quinte rime*, the *Discorso* is a stage piece, a demonstration of poetic virtuosity and social reach.

It is only on reaching these later texts that we see Terracina's first and full use of the choral anthology. Interestingly, these are the first of her works to be published by Valvassori, rather than by Giolito or Torrentino. As noted above, Valvassori seems to have lacked the prescience of Giolito when it came to the publishing market, but he was quick to spot a growing trend once it was underway, and seems skilled at

⁴⁴³ The format employed in the *Rime di diversi nobilissimi et eccelletissimi autori, in morte della signora Irene delle signore di Spilimbergo. Alle quali si sono aggiunti versi latini di dievorsi egregii poeti, in morte della mede* (Venice: Domenico e Giovanni Battista Guerra, 1561), for example, to which Terracina contributed a poem.

⁴⁴⁴ That is a line from the *Orlando Furioso* must be used every eight lines, and rhymes must also be matched to this.

producing a work of maximum impact and sales potential with minimal innovation, input or production time. For instance, we know that Terracina's *Quarte rime* and *Quinte rime* contain notably fewer poems than her other later works (although this could also be because she was working on them at the same time as the *Seconde rime* and *Discorso*). They also contain a far higher proportion of poems by contributing writers and the dialogic element of poetic exchange is highlighted. Sonnets in reply to another (whether to or from Terracina) are labelled as 'risposta'. Although the to-and-fro of sonnet exchanges is not framed on one page, as it is in the work of Tullia d'Aragona, this in fact reduces the sense that the exchanges are a set piece intended for publication. As the sonnets or stanze casually run over from one page to the next, the reader is left with the impression that this kind of correspondence is commonplace and off-the-cuff for Terracina, reinforcing the sense that she is a hub for literary activity.⁴⁴⁵

The *Quinte rime*, for example, includes a sonnet exchange between Terracina and Ferrante Carafa, a notable figure in both social and literary circles in Naples.⁴⁴⁶ Although Terracina initiated the exchange (elsewhere, her correspondent's *proposta*

⁴⁴⁵ Jaffe rejects the idea that Terracina's 'male friends were motivated to help her solely because of their admiration for her poetic gift. Although Laura lacked the kind of beautiful features that make women obviously attractive to men, she is said to have been pursued by many men, including the literati among her colleagues in the Academy' (*Shining Eyes*, p. 170). No robust evidence is presented for this.

⁴⁴⁶ A founder of the Accademia dei Sereni, and *principe* of the Ardent, Carafa was briefly imprisoned during the 1547 rebellion, but later released and maintained a position of influence in the city. His entry in the *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* provides more information ('CARAFA, Ferrante', by Gaspare De Caro <http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/ferrante-carafa_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/> [accessed 13 March 2016]).

seems to be spontaneous praise to which she graciously responds), Carafa's response is so admiring that it still reflects very well upon her. Both her literary skills and her appearance are presented as superlative – indeed, Carafa suggests that even without her beauty, Terraina's poetry would have enchanted him, and he begins his *risposta* precisely with a Petrarchan physical description.

All'Illustrissimo Signor Ferrante Caraffa [sic]

Una gemma, un thesauro, un lucido oro,
Un cor gentile, un di virtù sì raro
Come voi sete, mi dimostra chiaro
Quanto amate d'Apollo il verde Alloro. [...]

Per ben che 'l so, che non potrà l'ingegno
Né 'l desio, né la penna, né la lingua
Lodando voi, frenar gli accesi spirti;
Non l'habbiate Signor, pur tanto à sdegno;
Se 'l mio secco terren s'inherba, e impingua,
Fra vostri adorni e bei fioriti mirti.

Risposta del Signor Ferrante alla S. Laura

S'io non vidi giamai de i bei crin d'oro
Vostri la luce, né del terso e raro
Avorio lo splendor, già intesi il chiaro
Canto, che ornovvi d'immortale Alloro;
Onde ammirai tai note e 'l bel lavoro
De le rime, allhor come hor mi preparo
A lodar voi, co 'l vostro stil, ch'è caro

Cotanto a Phebo e al suo più divin coro.⁴⁴⁷

The *Seste rime* 2, published almost a decade later, but composed largely pre-1558, marks a withdrawal to a middle ground. Although *risposta* sonnets (mostly from Terracina, suggesting her popularity as a poetic recipient) pepper the work, proportionally they occupy much less of the book than they did in the *Quarte rime*, *Quinte rime*, and *Seste rime* 1. After the debacle of the pirated *Seste rime* 1, in which Terracina saw the poetry of others published under her name, it is as though she wishes to reassert her control over the collection. There is also the fact that this work was published in Naples by a local publisher and is of lower material quality. It might have lacked the pull of previous works especially as, although the *Rime* and *Discorso* were still popular and being republished, it was a decade after these successes.

A number of these factors pertain for the *Settime rime* too, published just a year later and even more tightly focused on Naples and its 'donne vedove' 'titolate e non titolate'. Its role was on the one hand highly public and staged, listing the names of hundreds of Neapolitan women from various strata of society, but it was also personal and emotional. It was a collection ostensibly designed to bring consolation and solace at a time of hardship and loss (the fact that many of the 'vedove' had remarried or died notwithstanding). Although there is a small cluster of poems by another poet at the work's conclusion, they are clearly intended to smoothly integrate with the work as a whole, entitled as they are 'Alla magnifica Signora Gioia Giarotta Giustinopolitana. Del Signor Giovan Battista Giorgi' and 'In morte del Magnifico Signor Consorte della Signora Gioia il Signor Giuliano Soldati Cavalliero, e Dottore. Del Signor Giovan Battista Giorgi'.⁴⁴⁸

⁴⁴⁷ *Quinte rime*, pp. 17^v-18^r

⁴⁴⁸ *Settime rime*, pp. 55^r-56^v. No biographical information on these dedicatees has been found.

The style of Terracina's final two works, the *Seconda parte* and the *Nono libro*, lend themselves less to the choral anthology model. As with the *Discorso*, the bulk of the *Seconda parte* is made up of Terracina's re-writing of the *Orlando Furioso*, which leaves little space for the voices of others. Brief poetic exchanges are found at the end of the work,⁴⁴⁹ but their place is not prominent. In the case of the *Nono libro*, as it was left in manuscript, it is impossible to come to a definite conclusion about how the work might have looked in a final, published form. However, despite its ostensibly religious and spiritual tenor, the work still features a small number of poetic exchanges which situate Terracina in a lively poetic environment, including her poetic correspondence with Laura Battiferra which will be discussed below. This is demonstrative of the fact that, until the end of her life, Terracina continued to portray herself at the heart of a social and literary network, if not to the extent that she did in her earlier years.

Overall, a pattern becomes discernible when looking at the above analysis in the light of the publisher of each text. While Giolito was clearly aware of the benefits of the choral anthology in adding lustre to the image of one of his trophy female poets, it was Valvassori who included the highest proportion of work by other poets. Without the novelty factor Giolito enjoyed when publishing Terracina's first works, he may have sought other ways to pique the interest of the public and draw in a wider circle of readers. In Terracina's later life, after the debacle of the two editions of the *Seste rime* and when she withdrew somewhat from the Venetian publishing scene, she appeared as a more independent poet, with relatively little of the work of others to obscure her own voice. She never ceased, however, to include some element of community within her works.

⁴⁴⁹ See *Seconda parte*, pp. 74-76.

One particularly interesting exchange occurs between Terracina and Battiferra in the former's unpublished ninth book of poetry. Not only does this reflect the strong literary links to be found between Naples and Florence, Battiferra's home, but it is also of interest as evidence of contact between two of the most renowned female poets of sixteenth-century Italy.

Alla Signora Laura Battiferra degli Ammannati, Laura Terracina

L'altiera fama e l'onorato alloro
Ch'il nome vostro in mille parti scrive
Non sol de[l] lauro e di fiorite olive
V'adorna, ma di gemme e di fin'oro;
Io mai sempre di sterpi e sassi infioro
Di Mergellina mia l'amate rive,
Di Muse scarse e di sirene prive,
Perché poco ho de[l] loro alto tesoro.
Chi dunque canterà, chi m'assicura
Che scorno al fin non abbia e disonore,
Se per cantar di voi voglio esser prima?
Miracoli son questi di natura,
Che già a voi sola diè tutto l'onore
Di quanti scrisser mai prosa né rima.

Alla Signora Laura Terracina degli Incogniti Laura Battiferra Risposta

Voi sì ch'in mezzo al sacro Aonio coro,
A cui volger del ciel mai non prescrive
Termine o legge, di vostre alme e vive
Frondi tessete a voi degno lavoro;

Io non ch'oscura vivomi con loro,
 D'Apollo in ira e de le sante dive,
 E s'a carte verger vien mai ch'arrive
 Mia man, l'opra è sì vil ch'io mi scoloro,
 E poich'avarò il ciel m'asconde e fura
 Lei che fu già di me pregio e valore,
 Ch'Arno tanto e Ibero onora e stima;
 Negletta e vil, di mia fera ventura
 Mi doglio e piango; il tormentoso core
 Occulta rode e dispietata lima.⁴⁵⁰

A third important female figure also features in the poems, if only as a shadow: the first tercet of Battiferra's reply likely refers to the death of Eleonora di Toledo in 1562, the daughter of the former ruler of Naples Pietro di Toledo, who had travelled to marry Cosimo de' Medici.⁴⁵¹ It is interesting that Battiferra chooses to allude to Eleonora's death: not only did it have a major impact upon the Florentine consciousness, and in particular upon Cosimo de' Medici, but it was also an event which she considered worth mentioning to another female poet who also depended upon the goodwill of her city's noblewomen.

Both women adopt a common poetic technique, but one which acquires particular resonance in the context of an exchange between two female poets. As Natalie Zemon Davis has noted, women 'did not appear troubled by the demands of reciprocity,

⁴⁵⁰ Laura Battiferra, *Laura Battiferra*, pp. 304-06.

⁴⁵¹ For more on Eleonora di Toledo, see *The Cultural World of Eleonora de Toledo: Duchess of Florence and Siena*, ed. by Konrad Eisenbichler (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2016).

particularly with other women':⁴⁵² exchanging word-gifts in this poetic fashion is of benefit to both participants, even if they seem to take the opportunity to traduce their own reputation. Both denigrate and downplay their own talent and success. Terracina sees herself as a purveyor of dry twigs and pebbles in contrast to Battiferra's jewels and gold, while Battiferra berates her own poetic efforts as 'negletta e vil'. The reality, of course, is that both women know themselves to be talented and recognised poets – why else, after all, would they be exchanging these poems?

Finally, the second tercet of Terracina's sonnet is also of interest: it is hyperbolic in its praise of Battiferra as the worthy recipient of all praise that ever went to authors of 'prosa' or 'rima'. The poems between the two women could have been written any time after Eleonora di Toledo's death in 1562, probably quite close to that date. For Terracina to include the exchange in a 1577 manuscript destined for publication indicates she saw something to be gained from displaying a (past) relationship with Battiferra. It is suggestive of the endurance of Battiferra's reputation that, almost two decades after her sole publication, the *Primo libro delle opere toscane* (published in Florence by Giunti), she merits this public reproduction of praise.

Abigail Brundin has fruitfully explored the importance of poetic praise between women in the case of Vittoria Colonna and Veronica Gambara, and we can find echoes of that dynamic at work here as well.⁴⁵³ Brundin notes that for Gambara, praising another woman poet is 'an invulnerable literary position from which to make subtle claims about one's own literary merits',⁴⁵⁴ a dynamic which is also at work when Terracina addresses Battiferra. Just as Colonna responded to Gambara in

⁴⁵² *The Gift*, p. 211.

⁴⁵³ See "Presto fia".

⁴⁵⁴ Brundin, "Presto fia", p. 136.

complimentary terms, so Battiferra played her part too. Furthermore, Brundin shows that the sonnets between Colonna and Gambara reflect the women's desires to find a way into the mainstream literary community through a potent mix of denial and assertion.⁴⁵⁵ By joining together, the two pairs of women shore up their position as literary pioneers, with Battiferra adding an extra dimension by introducing the figure of Eleonora di Toledo, herself a powerful patron of the arts. In order for this type of exchange to become as meaningful as possible, however, it must take place in public, within the choral anthology.

The *Settime rime*

In order to bring together the threads of this chapter, I would like to turn finally to consider Terracina's *Settime rime*, published in 1561 by Mattia Cancer, as a case study. Its full title is *Settime rime sopra tutte le donne vedove di questa nostra città di Napoli titolate e non titolate fatte per la signora [sic] Laura Terracina*. The gendering of this collection, by a woman, for women explicitly, must have been unprecedented at this time.⁴⁵⁶ On the one hand, as 'publishing strategies depend largely on the extent and the character of the public that constitutes the bookmaker's potential clientele at any given moment in history',⁴⁵⁷ it implies that widows were a sufficiently visible and financially solvent public to merit overt targeting, which Cox refers to as Terracina's 'promiscuous collective courtship'.⁴⁵⁸ In addition, the collection is somewhat anomalous among the works published by Cancer between 1555 and 1565, of which the majority are in Latin,

⁴⁵⁵ Brundin, 'Presto fia', p. 138.

⁴⁵⁶ See Cox, *Women's Writing*, pp. 94-5, on male-authored collections of poetry to women of particular cities.

⁴⁵⁷ Roger Chartier, *The Cultural Uses*, p. 145.

⁴⁵⁸ Cox, *Women's Writing*, pp. 115-16. For an overview of the significance of widowhood at this point, see Helena Sanson, 'Widowhood and Conduct in Late Sixteenth-Century Italy: the 'Unusual' Case of La Vedova del Fusco (1570)', *The Italianist*, 35 (2015), 1-26 (pp. 4-8).

with only two other collections of contemporary vernacular verse.⁴⁵⁹ Terracina is the only woman writer published by Cancer in the period. The *Settime rime* must have been judged suitably decorous and potentially lucrative for a place in Cancer's stable.

The gendering of the collection, on the other hand, confirms Terracina's awareness of herself as a female poet, but also her conscious desire to develop relationships – on the page at least – with her readers. She does this initially through the dedication and opening poetry of the work. Brian Richardson notes that printed dedications 'would be addressed to a private individual [...] but at the same time they must be numbered among the paratexts intended to have significance for all readers'.⁴⁶⁰ This is particularly pertinent in the *Settime rime*, which bears a dedication to Maria Anna della Cueva, the Princess of Ascoli, in which Terracina reflects upon the transient nature of earthly life and the inevitability of death:

Non si sarebbe per modo alcuno conosciuta la vita Illustrissima Signora se non fosse stata la morte, come ancho in tutte le altre cose avviene. Et come è la vita cosa soave e cara a tutti gli animali che ci vivono, così è la morte non solamente noiosissima a tutti, come quella che pare, che la vita, cosa tanto da tutti desiderata ed amata, tronchi, ma natural e necessaria ancho; naturale, perché essendo questo corpo di cose contrarie composto, bisogna che con tutte le altre cose che sotto la luna si veggono, senta anco egli questo vicendevole mutamento della generatione, e corruttione; necessaria poi, perché l'anima

⁴⁵⁹ As based on Edit16. The other two verse collections are Berardino Rota, *Sonetti del s. Berardino Rota in morte della sra. Porta Capece sua moglie* (Naples: Mattio Cancer, 1560) and Luigi Tansillo, *Stanze di Luigi Tansillo* (Naples: Mathio Cancer, ad instantia de Marco Antonio Passaro, 1558), this latter based on *intermedi* of plays performed at the house of the Marchesa del Vasto.

⁴⁶⁰ Brian Richardson, 'Inscribed Meanings', p. 93.

parte divina in noi, e che in questa prigione del corpo rinchiusa ed incatenata si trova, al fine per lo quale fu creata, si conduca e ritorni. Il che per mezzo di questo discioglimento, che morte chiamiamo, si fa, restandone il corpo ch'è terra, in terra, e volandone l'anima ch'è celeste, nel Cielo. Egli si raramarica [sic] adunque, e duole con poca ragione.⁴⁶¹

This is the only example, outside the *Discorso* and *Seconda parte*, of Terracina adopting such a consciously highbrow rhetorical tone. While the plight of the dedicatee is recognised, and of course suitable humility topoi employed, the prose passage primarily serves to establish Terracina as a wise counsellor, capable of meaningful philosophical reflections on the nature of life and death. In the mind of the reader, a positive, if sober, image of the poet is created, in which her gender is in fact neutralised. This acts as a deliberate, and highly effective, balancing tactic. The collection is highly gendered in its choice of addressees and by the portrait of Terracina which graces the opening pages; the text of dedication counters any sense of excessive feminine sentimentality.

Although the dedication itself is addressed to the Princess of Ascoli, each poem within the collection is dedicated to an individual Neapolitan widow. This establishes an ostensibly quite personal bond between Terracina and a group of her fellow Neapolitan women. These women shared a home city and urban space, Naples, but also the binding social trait of having lost their husband.⁴⁶² Widowhood could have

⁴⁶¹ *Settime rime*, opening dedication, no page number.

⁴⁶² On the creation of a poetic 'community' of widows in the *Settime rime*, see Anna Wainwright, 'La città vedova: Widowhood and Politics in Italian Renaissance Literature,' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, New York University, 2017), pp. 189-97. See this dissertation too for Wainwright's discussion of the notable absence of a poem to Vittoria Colonna in the *Settime rime*.

quite different consequences for different women: some 'benefited economically from the death of their spouses', but without financial stability or a remarriage 'widows' economic and moral condition often deteriorated badly'.⁴⁶³ Terracina avoids referring to the material difficulty these women might be facing, concentrating on consoling their emotional distress. Despite not being a widow herself, she creates a relationship with her addressees by simultaneously comforting them in their plight, and in a sense making visible their challenging social position precisely by identifying them as a group.

Yet, as so often seems to be the case with Terracina, the realities of publication impinge upon the project. Immediately upon opening the volume, the reader learns that the widowed status of the 'vedove titolate e non titolate' has been superseded in a number of cases. A slightly regretful, slightly defensive *ottava* opens the volume:

Quando i' tessea di tante donne l'opra
Vedove erano all'hora, e tutte vive,
Ma quel che piace al gran Fattor di sovra
Chi 'l puo saper, e chi con ver ne scrive,
Sì che s'a queste dar Fortuna s'opra
Il suo favor, e a quelle ne fa prive.
Colpa io non son della variata sorte
S'altre sian maritate, altre sian morte.⁴⁶⁴

⁴⁶³ Margaret L. King, *Women of the Renaissance* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1991), p. 61.

⁴⁶⁴ *Settime rime*, opening dedication, no page number.

This poem is addressed 'a i lettori', and it exposes the illusion at the heart of Terracina's work. While ostensibly the collection creates a closed relationship between Terracina and the group to whom she writes, in reality she anticipates an audience far beyond the 'vedove' themselves to whom the poems of comfort and consolation are addressed. In this sense she plays a double game, seeking to establish a personalised relationship with the first reader, the widow (although we cannot know if the widows would have read this poetry in manuscript prior to publication), and the second readers of the Neapolitan public.

Even in this seemingly intimate and closed collection, the previously mentioned group of four poems by two male poets impinges upon the finale of the work.⁴⁶⁵ The first *ottava*, 'Alla magnifica Signora Gioia Giarotta Giustinopolitana, del Signor Giovan Battista Giorgi' has Giovan Battista Giorgi empathising with Giarotta over the death of her husband. The poet expresses particular sorrow and regret for not having been present at the death of his own beloved. The subsequent three poems are by the same poet '[i]n morte del Magnifico Signor Consorte della Signora Gioia, il Signor Giuliano Soldati Cavalliero e Dottor', with a notably Neapolitan element, the river Sebeto acting as a focal image. As such, while this poetry in a sense 'intrudes' upon the relationship which Terracina has sought to establish visibly with her widowed readers, it remains faithful to the urban, and bereaved, identity of the collection.

This group of four poems, however, does function to serve as a bridge to the final, lengthy, poem of the collection, a capitolo in *ottava rima* by Terracina. This capitolo is emblematic because it demonstrates Terracina's divided loyalties and constant, even relentless, process of self-fashioning and self-promotion. The dedicatees of the poem

⁴⁶⁵ *Settime rime*, pp. 55^r-56^v.

are 'le signore vedove nomate', and it opens in typical fashion with Terracina deprecating her own poetic flaws:

Se col mio rozo stil, se col mio ingegno,
Donne gentil, non ho potuto imparte
Scriver di voi, e co 'l mio inchiostro indegno
Non è colpa la mia, né di mie carte,
Né del mio amor, né del mio bel disegno,
Né dela penna mia, né di mia arte,
Ma dele virtù vostre, e del valore
Che m'han quasi agghiacciato il petto, il core.⁴⁶⁶

The following seventeen stanzas each name and praise a male poet whom Terracina claims would have better honoured the widows. She lists some local names (the Duke d'Atri, the Marchese di Carafa), and some poets who had achieved national renown (Antonio Minturno, Angelo di Costanzo, and Luigi Tansillo). The cumulative effect is extraordinary, not least given that the focus of the final stanza remains firmly on the talents of the male poet:

Dhè s'il Pontano morti e se 'l Carbone
Non fossero hoggi, nelo Sanazaro,
Che più dolce s'udivan d'Anfione,
Et più famosi scrissero e cantaro,
Né spinti fosser poi dala ragione
L'Epicur l'Ottinello a me sì caro,

⁴⁶⁶ *Settime rime*, p. 56^v.

Farebbono tremar, non sol queste onde,
Ma quanti liti e scogli il mar circonde.⁴⁶⁷

The closing image of the work is of male poets causing the very earth to quake with their skill; quite forgotten are the words of consolation to bereaved women. Florence Alazard, in her work on Italian war poetry, has noted how the interjection 'dhe' 'played an important role in investing people [...] with a sense of involvement',⁴⁶⁸ which is how it is used here by Terracina. The supposed emotion with which the collection is invested has not been lost, but it has been redirected. Once again, Terracina seeks two outcomes. Firstly, she builds a positive relationship with these revered male poets and nobles through publicly praising them; secondly, she elevates her own profile by proximity, even inclusion within their ranks. Although she claims to be their poetic inferior, by associating herself with them in poetry the connection is formed in the mind of the reader.

Overall, the *Settime rime* effectively illustrates how Terracina used her published works as social tools. She forged a relationship with one important individual, the dedicatee, but used dedications and poetry within the work itself to weave a far wider network of contacts, creating a kind of who's who of widows in Naples. Finally, though, she has an eye for the way power and reputation functioned in sixteenth-century Italy, and her collection closes by fostering relationships with those who have extensive social and literary capital, and simultaneously bolstering her own reputation. Such an astute feeling for how her work would be received would be

⁴⁶⁷ *Settime rime*, p. 59r.

⁴⁶⁸ Florence Alazard, 'Ahimé, ahi, o, deh: Interjections and Orality in *Lamenti* during the Italian Wars', in *Interactions between Orality and Writing in Early Modern Italian Culture*, ed. by Luca Degl'Innocenti, Brian Richardson, and Chiara Sbordoni (London: Routledge, 2016), pp. 67-80 (p. 78).

crucial, not least because Terracina operated to some degree as an intruder into a male literary domain. To compound this sense of transgression, she goes on frequently to take a stance on situations not considered the business of women, not least the difficult military-political landscape of Italy in the sixteenth century, as will be explored in the next chapter.

IV. Political Lyric

The second half of this dissertation will turn to consider two major thematic threads of Terracina's poetry, seeking to illuminate the question of how a female poet sought to comment upon the socio-political situation in which she lived. This chapter will consider Terracina's political poetry, specifically that which deals with warfare and military issues; the following chapter will look at her spiritual lyric. Constant throughout Terracina's collections is consideration of the supra-national political situation of the third quarter of the Cinquecento, as the French fought with the pope and the Holy Roman Empire, incorporating Spain, for dominance in the Italian peninsula and victory against the Turkish. The Terracina family, residents of Naples, had long held pro-Spanish sentiments which, of necessity, led to a certain hostility towards the French and extreme antipathy for Muslim enemies and invaders.⁴⁶⁹ In parts of her oeuvre Terracina expresses such views, envisaging a union of Christian powers, under the guiding hand of the Holy Roman Emperor, which might retake the Holy Land. She does not do so in a vacuum however, proving herself aware of the toll which war and military unrest took upon a country. In a period in which warfare

⁴⁶⁹ For more on the political situation in these years, and particularly the relationship between Italian subjects and the Spanish throne, see *Napoli vicereigno spagnolo. Una capitale della cultura alle origini dell'europa moderna (sec. XVI-XVII)*, ed. by Monika Bosse and André Stoll (Naples: Vivarium, 2001); Thomas James Dandalet and John A. Marino, *Spain in Italy. Politics, Society, and Religion 1500-1700* (Leiden: Brill, 2006); and Toscano, *Letterati Corti Accademie*. The Muslim 'other' is never clearly defined in Terracina's work, variously referred to as Saracens, Turks and so on. This dissertation will use Terracina's terminology, not intending to imply any connotations which these names may since have adopted. For more on Christian attitudes towards the Turkish specifically in the later sixteenth century, see Marco Barducci, 'Dopo Lepanto. Il Turco negli Scritti Politici Italiani di Fine Cinquecento', *Il Pensiero Politico*, 41 (2008), 19-43.

ravaged Italy, such unrest was personally felt by many. From 1494, when Charles VIII of France led troops into Italy, a sixty-year struggle ensued with Spain (and then the Holy Roman Empire) for dominance in the peninsula.⁴⁷⁰ As will become clear, the difficulties and glories of lived warfare were explored by thinkers, writers, artists and politicians alike.⁴⁷¹ As a woman, however, Terracina could not contribute her thoughts neutrally. It is notable that in expressing her views, she is both conscious of her gender and dismissive of it: she acknowledges the abnormality of a woman writing on political matters, but does not allow that to temper her occasionally scathing critique.

Poets had long been reflecting on politics, and specifically warfare, by the sixteenth century, whether through epic or chivalric verse, through the conduit of fictional storylines, or through directly engaged poetry. Frequently, such reflection also included a degree of criticism of the Church, almost inevitably given the Church's political engagement. Petrarch himself, centuries before Terracina, had composed a Latin anti-papal satire, the *Sine nomine liber*, which was placed on the Indexes of 1559 and 1560,⁴⁷² while the theme was also explored in poetry. In Terracina's own century, Bernardo Tasso (1493-1569) is a useful illustrative example to understand the contemporary literary context into which she was stepping. Tasso was a poet of the

⁴⁷⁰ James D. Tracy, *The Politics of Erasmus. A Pacifist Intellectual and His Political Milieu* (Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press, 1978), p. 3.

⁴⁷¹ See, among others, J.R. Hale, *War and Society in Renaissance Europe, 1450-1620* (London: Fontana, 1985); Diane Wolfthal, *Images of Rape. The "Heroic" Tradition and its Alternative* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); *The Erasmus Reader*, ed. by Erika Rummel (Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press, 1999); and Barducci, 'Dopo Lepanto'.

⁴⁷² Ronald L. Martinez, 'The Book without a Name: Petrarch's Open Secret (*Liber sine nomine*)', in *Petrarch. A Critical Guide to the Complete Works*, ed. by Victoria Kirkham and Armando Maggi (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2009), pp. 291-300 (pp. 291-92, 295).

generation before Terracina who lived in Naples before 1532.⁴⁷³ Throughout his career as a diplomat he felt the need to adapt his political allegiances to those of his employer. As an ambassador to the French court Tasso's loyalties tended towards the French, although in 1532 he was employed by Ferrante Sanseverino, Prince of Salerno and a frequent dedicatee of Terracina's poetry. When Sanseverino fell foul of the Neapolitan authorities in 1552, Tasso was also exiled from Naples and spent over a year in France at the court of Henry II. Subsequently Tasso broke from Sanseverino and spent time in Rome and Venice, continuing to write and publish poetry all the while. Like Terracina, he was broadly supportive of the various popes of his lifetime, but also critical of their inability to unite Christian forces against a common enemy. In a lengthy canzone addressed to Pope Clement, Tasso uses the common imagery of the pope as 'alto Pastore' to urge him to '[p]one[r]e freno ai duri animi e feri / De' Principi cristiani' and to not leave the Italian people 'in preda al ferro e al foco'. Instead, Tasso urges the pope to turn against the true enemy which 'l'armi e 'l foco di pietate ignudo / Va apparecchiando a comun nostro danno'.⁴⁷⁴ Works such as those of Bernardo Tasso, and Vittoria Colonna as shall be seen, are suggestive of a theme of papal lyric among near contemporaries of Terracina from which she could take inspiration.

Warfare was also an important theme in epic and chivalric poetry in particular, with the clash between Christians and various 'barbarians' often dramatically depicted.⁴⁷⁵

⁴⁷³ For a biography of Bernardo Tasso, see Bernardo Tasso, *Rime*, ed. by Domenico Chiodo, 2 vols (Turin: Edizioni Res, 1995), II, pp. 409-15.

⁴⁷⁴ See Bernardo Tasso, *Rime*, sonnet LXXVI, pp. 191-97.

⁴⁷⁵ See on warfare in epic and chivalric poetry, Michael Murrin, *History and Warfare in Renaissance Epic* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1994); and Lina Bolzoni, "'O maledetto, o abominoso ordigno": la rappresentazione della guerra nel poema epico-cavalleresco', in *Storia d'Italia. Annali 18. Guerra e pace*, ed. by Walter Barberis (Turin: Giulio

Warfare is a constant throughout the *Orlando Furioso*, as Ariosto promises in his opening lines which talk of ‘armi’ and ‘cavalier’. Various readings of the meaning and significance of war within the poem have been proffered, including one which sees it as having a “funzione” centripeta nella complessa trama della vicenda’;⁴⁷⁶ as is typical, the *Orlando Furioso* refuses to conform to one single reading.⁴⁷⁷ It is possible, however, to pull out some threads which will resurface in Terracina’s poetry, and so obviously bore particular significance for her. In particular, there is the clash between Saracens and Christians, and a concomitant belief that ‘solo ammissibile, da parte di cristiani, è la guerra contro gli infedeli’.⁴⁷⁸ Like Ariosto, Terracina laments moral corruption and the brutality of contemporary warfare, showing ‘la nostalgia di valori morali e virtù guerriere di altri tempi’.⁴⁷⁹

A female author, however, was not in the position of the male poets cited above. As we know, it was not a neutral act in sixteenth-century Italy for a woman to expose herself through publication, and to assert one’s authority and opinion in such a

Einaudi editore, 2002), pp.201-50; Marco Faini, ‘La poetica dell’epica sacra tra Cinque e Seicento in Italia’, *The Italianist*, 35 (2015), 27-60.

⁴⁷⁶ Marco Santoro, *Lettture ariostesche* (Naples: Liguori, 1973), p. 21.

⁴⁷⁷ Much work has been done on war in the *Orlando Furioso*. See, for example, Emanuella Scarano, ‘Guerra favolosa e guerra storica nell’*Orlando Furioso*’, in *Studi offerti a Luigi Blasucci dai colleghi e dagli allievi pisani*, ed. by Lucio Lugnani, Marco Santagata, and Alfredo Stussi (Lucca: Maria Pacini Fazzi editore, 1996); Lina Bolzoni, “‘O Maledetto, o abominoso ordigno’”; Paul Larivaille, ‘Guerra e ideologia nel Furioso’, *Chroniques Italiennes*, 19 (2011), 1-20; Nicolò Maldina, *Ariosto e la battaglia della Polesella. Guerra e poesia nella Ferrara di inizio Cinquecento* (Bologna: Società Editrice il Mulino, 2016); On war in the *Cinque Canti*, see Ida Campeggiani, *L’ultimo Ariosto. Delle Satire ai Frammenti autografi* (Pisa: Edizioni della Normale, 2017).

⁴⁷⁸ Larivaille, ‘Guerra e ideologia’, p. 6.

⁴⁷⁹ Larivaille, ‘Guerra e ideologia’, p. 7.

masculine field as politics and warfare was a notably audacious action. It was also a challenging one: how to position oneself in a society which preached male glory on the battlefield, but female passivity and vulnerability? Olivia Sears writes that women's poetry dealing with the subject of war shows 'an almost inevitable oscillation between expressions of societal exclusion and alienation on the one hand, and complicity in the formation and perpetuation of gender and war systems on the other'.⁴⁸⁰ While some women, particularly those of the upper classes with greater involvement in public enterprises, incited men towards war, almost all condemned the privileging of military glory over love.⁴⁸¹

In the generation before Terracina, two noble-born female poets were particularly influential in developing a political poetic consciousness among women. Noblewoman Veronica Gambara (1485-1550) was widowed in 1518, having been

⁴⁸⁰ 'Choosing Battles? Women's War Poetry in Renaissance Italy', in *Gendered Contexts: New Perspectives in Italian Cultural Studies*, ed. by Laura Benedetti, Julia L. Hairston and Silvia M. Ross (New York: Peter Lang, 1996), pp. 79-91 (pp. 79-80).

⁴⁸¹ Sears, 'Choosing Battles?', in *Gendered Contexts*, ed. by Benedetti, Hairston and Ross, pp. 81, 84. An exception to this might be Isabella Cervoni, active in the late sixteenth century, whose 1598 oration on war did not flinch from encouraging military action. See Anna Wainwright, 'A Simple Virgin Speaks: Authorial Identity and Persuasion in Isabella Cervoni's Oration to Pope Clement VIII', *The Italianist*, 37 (2017), 1-19. In the early seventeenth century, another extended intervention from a woman relating to warfare came from Margherita Sarrocchi in the form of her *Scanderbeide*, the first historical heroic epic poem by a woman (see Margherita Sarrocchi, *Scanderbeide. The Heroic Deeds of George Scanderbeg, King of Epirus*, ed. and trans. by Rinaldina Russell (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2006). See also Moderata Fonte's epic *Floridoro, A Chivalric Romance*, ed. by Valeria Finucci and trans. by Julia Kisacky (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2006) and Lucrezia Marinella, *Enrico; or, Byzantium Conquered*, ed. and trans. by Maria Galli Stampino (Chicago and London: Chicago University Press, 2009).

married to Gilberto X da Correggio for a decade, and went on to rule Correggio in her own right, being visited by Charles V in both 1530 and 1532, a sign of the prestige which she had amassed.⁴⁸² A poet before her marriage, she continued to balance writing with political duties and motherhood, and was mentioned by Ariosto both in the 1516 edition of the *Orlando Furioso* and at more length in the 1532 edition.⁴⁸³ In her own poetry, Gambara discusses the Holy Roman Empire and the fight for the Holy Land, calling for God's aid to support Charles V, the pope and the Christian community, and praising the empire. In one sonnet, she adopts an audacious stance:

Tu che di Pietro il glorioso manto
vesti felice e del Celeste Regno
hai le chiavi in governo, onde sei degno
di Dio ministro e Pastor saggio e santo:
mira la greggia a te commessa e quanto
la scema il fiero lupo, e poi sostegno
sicuro l'una dal tuo sacro ingegno
riceva e l'altro giusta pena e pianto!
Scaccia animoso fuor del ricco nido
i nemici di Cristo or che i duo regi
ogni lor cura e studio hanno a te volto!
Se ciò farai non fia men chiaro il grido
de l'opre tue leggiadre e fatti egregi

⁴⁸² Laura Fortini, 'Veronica Gambara', in *Liriche del Cinquecento*, ed. by Farnetti and Fortini, p. 26.

⁴⁸³ See, for example, XLVI, ll. 23-4, where Gambara is praised as 'sì grata a Febo e al santo aonio coro'.

che fia di quello il cui gran nome hai tolto!⁴⁸⁴

Gambara portrays the pope (in this case Pope Paul III) as a shepherd, but one who is not fulfilling his God-given mission. She urges him on to military action and physical, as well as spiritual, warfare against the Turkish foe. The action of the pope, however, will not be entirely disinterested, for the poet ends the sonnet by promising the ultimate prize of glory, immortal honour down the ages like that of St Peter. While the earthly immortality of one's good name is a familiar trope in lyric poetry of this period, it is more jarring to find it so obviously framed as an attractive prospect for this spiritual leader.

Vittoria Colonna, the leading light of sixteenth-century female-authored poetry, also penned lyrics of a political nature, but her work suffered from a degree of misattribution, especially to Gambara.⁴⁸⁵ In the *Libro primo delle rime spirituali, parte*

⁴⁸⁴ Gambara, *Rime*, ed. by Alan Bullock (Florence: Olschki, 1995), pp. 159-60. This poem was first printed in Atanagi's 1565 anthology (*De le rime di diversi nobili poeti toscani* (Venice: Lodovico Avanzo, 1565)) and likely circulated in manuscript beforehand. While Terracina may not have read Gambara's work at the time of writing some of her own sonnets critical of the papacy, Gambara's poem shows that there was the possibility in Italy for women to engage in this kind of discourse.

⁴⁸⁵ On misattributions between Colonna and Gambara, see Alan Bullock, 'Veronica o Vittoria? Problemi di attribuzione per alcuni sonetti del Cinquecento', *Studi e problemi di critica testuale*, 6 (1973), 115-31 and Bullock, 'Vittoria Colonna e i lirici minori del Cinquecento: quattro secoli di attribuzioni contraddittorie', *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana*, 157 (1980), 383-402. There does not seem to be a unifying theme behind the misattributions: although, for example, 'Vinca gli sdegni e l'odio vostro antico' is a political poem traditionally attributed to Gambara but reattributed by Bullock to Colonna, the suggestion that Gambara was seen by contemporary audiences as a 'political' poet and Colonna a 'spiritual' poet is not supported

nuovamente raccolte da piu auctori, parte non piu data in luce, we find Colonna imploring the rulers of France (Francis I) and the Holy Roman Empire (Charles V) to put aside their differences and unite against the common enemy:

Vinca gli sdegni e l'odio vostro antico,
Carlo e Francesco, il nome sacro e santo
di Cristo, e di Sua fe' vi caglia tanto
quanto a voi più d'ogn'altro è stato amico.

L'armi vostre a domar l'empio nimico
di Lui sian pronte, e non tenete in pianto
non pur l'Italia, ma l'Europa, e quanto
bagna il Mar Indo valle o colle aprico.

Il gran Pastor, a cui le chiavi date
furon del Cielo, a voi si volge e prega
che de le greggi sue pietà vi prenda;
possa più in voi che 'l sdegno la pietate,
coppia real; un sol desio vi accenda:
di vendicar chi Gesù sprezza o nega.⁴⁸⁶

The sonnet was originally attributed to Veronica Gambara, which is in itself telling:⁴⁸⁷ either woman was perceived as able and likely to write cogently on a theme of such transnational importance. Other poems by Colonna also establish themes which will

by the misattributions themselves (see Alan Bullock, 'Veronica o Vittoria' and 'Vittoria Colonna').

⁴⁸⁶ Colonna, *Rime*, ed. by Alan Bullock (Rome and Bari: Giuseppe Laterza e figli, 1982), p. 217.

⁴⁸⁷ Bullock attributes the sonnet finally to Colonna on the basis of its consistent attribution to her in the manuscript tradition ('Veronica o Vittoria', p. 131).

be explored by Terracina, imploring Pope Paul III to pursue strategies of peace rather than war:

Prego il Padre divin che tanta fiamma
mandi del foco Suo nel vostro core,
Padre nostro terren, che de l'ardore
de l'ira umana in voi non resti dramma.

Non mai da fier leone inerme damma
fuggì come da voi l'indegno amore
fuggirà dal mortal caduco onore,
se di quel di là su l'alma s'infiamma.

Vedransi alor venir gli armenti lieti
al santo grembo caldo de la face
che 'l gran Lume del Ciel gli accese in terra.

Così le sacre gloriose reti
saran già colme; con la verga in pace
si rese il mondo, e non con l'armi in guerra.⁴⁸⁸

For a woman whose life had been so shaped by warfare, it is perhaps unsurprising to see Colonna as an advocate for peace, in both her political and literary lives.

Veronica Gambara and Vittoria Colonna were highly visible noblewoman, unlike the less aristocratic Terracina. There are examples of more bourgeois women, however, who also used poetry as a means of political engagement. A circle of Sienese female

⁴⁸⁸ Colonna, *Rime*, ed. by Bullock, p.214. First published in Colonna, *Le rime spirituali della illustrissima signora Vittoria Colonna* (Venice: Vincenzo Valgrisi, 1548).

poets in the mid Cinquecento, for example, wrote of more local political concerns which nonetheless reached an impressive readership. Virginia Martini Salvi (b. c.1510), Laudomia Forteguerri (1515-1555?) and Aurelia Petrucci (1511-1542) were inhabitants of Siena during its time of great turmoil in the mid sixteenth century, as internal fractures and external pressures tore apart the ancient republic.⁴⁸⁹ These three women were actively involved in some of the most pressing religious and political questions of the day and expressed their partisan beliefs in poetry, shared with what Konrad Eisenbichler describes as the virtual ‘academy’ in Siena.⁴⁹⁰ Firmly proud of their city, and in the case of Virginia Martini Salvi critical of the empire and supportive of the French, their work came to national attention in Domenichi’s 1559 *Rime diverse di alcune gentilissime e virtuosissime donne*. In an extraordinary show of support for these little-known women, Domenichi opened the volume with Aurelia Petrucci’s ‘Dove sta il tuo valor, Patria mia cara’,⁴⁹¹ and of the 52 contributors, Virginia Salvi is by far the most prominent with 45 original poems (the average number of poems per author in this collection is six).⁴⁹² The work of these women and their adoption by male contemporaries is indicative of how women who had limited political power and social standing themselves might nonetheless attempt to broadcast their views on

⁴⁸⁹ For more on the conflict of Siena, see Roberto Cantagalli, *La Guerra di Siena (1552-1559): I termini della questione senese nella lotta tra Francia e Asburgo nel ‘500 e il suo risolversi nell’ambito del Principato mediceo* (Siena: Accademia senese degli Intronati, 1962); Arnaldo D’Addario, *Il problema senese nella storia italiana della prima metà del Cinquecento (La guerra di Siena)* (Florence: Felice Le Monnier, 1958).

⁴⁹⁰ Eisenbichler’s *The Sword and the Pen. Women, Politics and Poetry in Sixteenth-Century Siena* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2012) is hugely informative on these women and their circles, writings and beliefs.

⁴⁹¹ For detailed analysis of this poem and its fortunes, see Eisenbichler, *The Sword*, pp. 73-6.

⁴⁹² Eisenbichler, *The Sword*, pp. 75, 213. See also Clara Stella, ‘Publishing Renaissance Women Poets: The Contribution of Domenichi’s *Rime diverse d’alcune nobilissime et virtuosissime donne* (1559)’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Leeds, 2017).

political events and to influence others. In the mid 1550s, when Terracina was penning political poetry, it is highly unlikely that she would have known the manuscript work of these women, but clearly she was not alone in daring to claim a public political voice.

Terracina's poetry on political matters of empire and warfare is primarily concentrated in the *Discorso*, *Seste rime 2*, *Seconda parte*, and *Nono libro*, meaning that it takes a variety of forms but was clearly a preoccupation over a sustained period, from at latest 1549 to 1577. There might be a number of reasons for this, which centre, it seems probable, around a shrewd eye for risk. In the *Discorso* and *Seconda parte*, Terracina enjoyed the legitimising 'protection' of her canonical source text the *Orlando Furioso*, which arguably itself encourages political engagement. Moreover, when Terracina published the *Discorso* she was already established as an author of some popularity. 1550 also saw the publication of Andrea Arrivabene's *De le rime di diversi nobilissimi et eccellentissimi autori*, in which some of Veronica Gambara's political poetry appeared.⁴⁹³ In this political and literary context, I will consider Terracina's attitude towards the pope, the Empire, France and the Muslim enemy. In addition, this will be placed in the context of the mediating effect which the poet's gender might exercise over the expression of her opinions.

The personal and the political

Throughout the poetry of Laura Terracina, the reader is never permitted to forget the gender of the poet. From her claim in her first publication of *Rime* that 'benché donna io sia, contra il desio / Adoro i dotti e gli scrittor',⁴⁹⁴ her status as a writing woman is

⁴⁹³ *De le rime di diversi nobilissimi et eccellentissimi autori* (Venice: Andrea Arrivabene, 1550). Seven of Gambara's sonnets were included in this collection, those listed in Gambara, *Rime*, ed. by Bullock (1995) as numbers 28, 40, 46, 47, 48, 60 and 65.

⁴⁹⁴ *Rime*, p. 27^v.

both a provocation to her detractors and an excuse for poetic shortcomings ('Come donna ch'io son di poco ingegno').⁴⁹⁵ At first, she is careful to claim poetry is merely a preferable alternative to sinful idleness:

L'ho fatto per fuggir l'ocio noioso,
C'ha ne' nostri pensieri troppa possanza.
Però col dir donnesco ho accompagnato
Che dolce più, che più giocondo stato.⁴⁹⁶

Over the course of her publications, however, Terracina becomes ever more bold in claiming her right to the written word. She does not leave off her literary endeavours because, as she makes clear, writing women have a moral duty to 'correct' history, which has been written by men, and by extension misogynists, to the present day:

Che se da se medesime potuto
Havessero le donne a scriver molto,
Li scrittor forse non havrian taciuto
Quel c'hor tacendo, han più ch'infamia occolto [...]

Ottusiamo queste lingue oscure,
Che non seran le nostre così mute,
Che aguagliar non possiamo lor scritture:
Con uno animo integro, e con salute

⁴⁹⁵ *Rime*, p. 27^v.

⁴⁹⁶ *Rime*, p. 13^r.

Sequemo finalmente l'opre pure.⁴⁹⁷

This re-writing of history will not simply serve to correct omissions and skewed perspectives introduced by male authors. It will also confer upon women the status of makers of histories, initiating them into the ranks of those with the knowledge and rationality to define the story of humanity.

However, this engagement with history and its creation is not straightforward for a woman, who was encouraged by her culture to engage only with relatively innocuous subject matter. The clearest expression of Terracina's own anxiety around writing of warfare can be found in the *Discorso*, canto XIV:

A che è condotto il mio amoroso stile
A parlar d'ira e ragionar di morte?
Come potrà l'ingegno femminile
Seguir di Marte il fier camin sì forte?
Sarà la penna mia tanto virile,
Che voglia resistere tra tante sorte.⁴⁹⁸

She acknowledges both the more acceptable theme of love (even if, in reality, the *Discorso* is far from a collection of innocuous love lyrics) and the potential discomfort around a female author following the path of Mars, as she describes it. She does this, however, using the words of Petrarch: 'Ov'è condotto il mio amoroso stile? / A parlar

⁴⁹⁷ *Discorso*, XXXVII, ll. 17-20; 58-62.

⁴⁹⁸ *Discorso*, XIV, ll. 9-14.

d'ira, a ragionar di morte'.⁴⁹⁹ This quotation is taken from the third stanza of Petrarch's double-sestina 'Mia benigna fortuna', but takes on even greater significance in a cultural context which discouraged the female poet from leaving the well-trodden path of love poetry. In effect, however, by falsely representing the rest of her work as consisting of 'amoroso stile', the contrast when Terracina comes to write of war is all the stronger. Despite her ostensible uncertainties however, the reader is left with little doubt that her 'penna' will be sufficiently 'virile': she will be able to appropriate the male phallic symbol of the 'penna' and use it in place of a sword.

Indeed, the context in which this verse is found makes it clear that Terracina will metaphorically don the armour of a Bradamante or Marfisa and march into battle:

Mi par d'udir Parigi in grido e in pianto,
Et l'Africano essercito in gran duolo:
Trombe, tamburi, e bifal d'ogni canto
Ne van per l'aria, tintinnando a volo.⁵⁰⁰

She conjures up visceral images of warfare and '[i]l suon de l'arme in questa, e in l'altra parte',⁵⁰¹ as Ariosto had done in the slaughter of the Battle of Ravenna described in the *Orlando Furioso* XIV. She imagines herself as a knight fighting alongside Orlando '[c]he forsi havendo meco, un tanto sforzo, / A li più altier farei sudar la fronte'.⁵⁰² At the end

⁴⁹⁹ Francesco Petrarca, *Canzoniere*, ed. by Marco Santagata (Milan: Arnoldo Mondadori Editore, 1996), p. 1281.

⁵⁰⁰ *Discorso*, XIV, ll. 17-20.

⁵⁰¹ *Discorso*, XIV, l. 27.

⁵⁰² *Discorso*, XIV, ll. 35-6.

of the canto, however, her confidence seems to falter, as though aware once more of society's pressures:

Io temo d'essequir tanta aspra impresa,
Che'l sesso feminil d'arme non sente:
E scorgo che nel fin rimarrò offesa
Perché il desio al'esser non consente.⁵⁰³

Milligan reads 'sente' as 'feel',⁵⁰⁴ but it seems probable that Terracina chose that word precisely for its ambiguity, as both 'feel' and 'hear'. This chimes with the vocabulary of hearing (the shouts and cries) that runs through the canto, and also recalls the oral nature of much epic and chivalric poetry: not only do women literally not hear the clash of weapons, they are limited in what they are even told about war. The last lines of the canto, however, seem to strike a middle path, suggesting that although her faith in her ability to write of warfare may waver, the poet's loyalties lie firmly with the imperial forces who have repelled the Saracen attack:

Ben dirò questo, poi che in tal son messa
Et acquietar la mia superba mente.
Più si doleano i saracini per molti
Principi e gran baron ch'eran lor tolti.⁵⁰⁵

In the *Seconda parte*, Terracina again questions her choice to leave her 'amoroso stile' for the harsh sounds of warfare, but her tone is mournful rather than triumphal. She

⁵⁰³ *Discorso*, XIV, ll. 57-60.

⁵⁰⁴ Milligan, 'Proving Masculinity', *The Poetics of Masculinity*, ed. by Milligan and Tylus, p. 192.

⁵⁰⁵ *Discorso*, XIV, ll. 61-4.

sees in the apparently perpetual war of the Italian peninsula the reflection of arrogance and avarice,⁵⁰⁶ and a rejection of Christian values. Suddenly, Terracina seems to portray herself in a Petrarchan, but highly feminised mode, questioning once more:

A ch'è condotto il mio amoroso stile
A parlar d'ira, e ragionar di morte?⁵⁰⁷

She does so to the extent that she is physically weakened:

La man mi trema e lo mio cor sfavilla
Pensando di narrar tante ruine.⁵⁰⁸

By the end of the canto, she claims to have lost her support for war in any form. This might be indicative of Terracina's developing outlook between the *Discorso*, published in 1549, and the *Seconda parte*, published in 1567, years which had seen the fracturing of the Catholic Church, continuing military unrest, and ongoing tensions with the Turkish and Saracens. Those left at home, such as Terracina, were in a position to see their society increasingly damaged by war, in a way men caught up on the battlefield perhaps were not. Implicitly Terracina sees war both as a cause and symptom of the increasing moral breakdown of society, a distraction from the moral duties of good Christians:

⁵⁰⁶ For further background on the status of avarice in this period, see Jonathan Patterson, *Representing Avarice in Late Renaissance France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 1-31.

⁵⁰⁷ *Seconda parte*, XIV, ll. 17-8. Petrarca, *Canzoniere*, p. 1281.

⁵⁰⁸ *Seconda parte*, XIV, ll. 25-6.

Vedemo sempre Spagna e Francia in arme
Sol per nostra superbia e avaritia;
Vedemo il Turco, col barbaro carme
Sempre chiamarci a nova altra mestitia.⁵⁰⁹

This positioning of herself as a kind of moral judge with the acumen and Christian wisdom to perceive the issues of true importance above petty factional fighting is an audacious move. Implicitly, she criticises the emperor, pope and other leaders from multiple countries who cannot desist from military clashes even in the face of their religious duty.⁵¹⁰ As shall be seen below however, such a pacifist position does not endure beyond the bounds of this self-contained collection: by the advent of the *Nono libro* (1577) Terracina will have reverted to a more familiar stance of advocating Christian unity against the Turkish threat.

Embedded within Terracina's decision to proffer her opinion on matters culturally coded as masculine lie other interesting assumptions, closely linked to her choice of dedicatees. In a world which bracketed political and military discourse as for men, Terracina's work could be read in two ways. On the one hand, she implicitly assumes that a fair proportion of her readership will be male, and not just intellectuals, dubiously effeminate courtiers and editors, but military men, politicians, captains, generals and soldiers. By writing on these matters, she lays claim to the attention of men who might be thought to have little time or inclination to dally with *ottavo*

⁵⁰⁹ *Seconda parte*, XIV, ll. 57-60.

⁵¹⁰ For instance, the New Testament advocates peace, and war often leads to (egregious) breaches of the Ten Commandments (Hale, p. 35). See also Erasmus, *A Complaint of Peace* in *The Erasmus Reader*, ed. by Rummel, pp. 288-314.

editions of vernacular poetry by a woman. However, she could also be assuming that such matters are of interest to female readers too, who would typically be excluded from political discourse. By appropriating the *Orlando Furioso*, Terracina places her poetry in a textual realm enjoyed by and accessible to all genders and classes, and effectively affirms that it is worthy of their attention too. Moreover, by addressing political themes Terracina is acknowledged and invested in the 'public' function of lyric poetry, as a form of occasional verse effectively reporting on events. This is a 'masculine' function of lyric poetry, and it is interesting to see a woman so boldly lay claim to it and refashion it according to the priorities of her gender.

The pope and his lost flock

The pope, or rather popes, are perhaps the most ambiguous subjects of Terracina's attention: leader of the Christian flock, the pope is nonetheless frequently portrayed as lacking, both in military terms and in the role of religious leader. The years in which Terracina published or produced cohesive manuscripts (1548-1577) saw a succession of seven popes, including most notably Julius III (pope 1549-1555) and Paul IV (pope 1555-1559).⁵¹¹ As Terracina would have been aware, the clergy, headed by the pope, was a 'chief moulder of public opinion' in early modern Europe,⁵¹² and so its attitude towards war was important for its effect upon wider social thinking. In general, clerics favoured peace, as endorsed by the New Testament.⁵¹³

However, this was not always the case. The influential thinker Erasmus, in his *Querela pacis* ('A Complaint of Peace') asked angrily:

⁵¹¹ In later editions of her works, the dedicatee pope was on occasion updated, presumably to give a sense of immediacy to the reader.

⁵¹² Hale, p. 35.

⁵¹³ Hale, p. 35.

When nations and princes are violently engaged in wicked wars which may go on for years, what as become of papal authority then? Where is the power second only to Christ's? It should surely have been exercised, were its holders not gripped by the same passions as the people.⁵¹⁴

Erasmus was generally critical of Catholic hierarchies, so cannot be deemed an 'objective' pacifist voice, but he does represent an important strain of thought that was critical of violence. War sat at the fraught meeting point of political and religious concerns for the leader of the Church. War itself could lead to the breach of multiple commandments, let alone the associated outrages that so often accompanied military action. It is striking, then, that Terracina does not endorse a pacifist position for the pope. Rather, she urges him to militate for the 'right' type of war. Vittoria Colonna earlier had also envisaged a pope who would humble himself and lead the Church back to a form of peace, and subsequent greatness:

Deh! Mostrate con l'opre alte e leggiadre
Le voglie umili, o Pastor saggio e santo!
Vestite il sacro glorioso manto
Come buon successor del primo Padre!⁵¹⁵

When addressing the pope in her early works, Terracina is restrained, and even gently supportive of Paul III (pope 1534-1549), reassuring him of the military support offered to his religious realm, in a potent combination of Christian and pagan imagery:

⁵¹⁴ Rummel, p. 305.

⁵¹⁵ 'Veggio rilucer sol di armate squadre', quoted in Robin, *Publishing Women*, p. 98.

Pastor benigno, che la santa fede
 Mantien sì forte col tuo ingegno e arte,
 Non ti turbar, che la tua petrea sede
 Sarà [sic] vittrice in l'una e l'altra parte,
 Che il Monarca del ciel, che tutto vede,
 Ti farà fra le greggie un vivo Marte
 Né temer più, che teco è il Re di Spagna
 Che darà freno ai stolti de La Magna.⁵¹⁶

Here, Terracina's faith in God's oversight of the Catholic Church appears unshakeable, a viewpoint no doubt encouraged by the military might of the Holy Roman Empire, as exemplified by the 'Re di Spagna'.

This period of calm faith in the role and effective government of the Church is looked back upon with regret and nostalgia by the time of the composition of the *Seste rime* 2 in the mid and late 1550s. In a pair of sonnets addressed to Paul IV,⁵¹⁷ Terracina boldly criticises the pope for, she implies, allowing the wrath of God to be brought upon Italy, leading to destruction and division within the Church:

⁵¹⁶ *Discorso*, XIV, ll. 1-8.

⁵¹⁷ Milligan states that Terracina believed that Pope Paul IV (another Neapolitan, Gian Pietro Carafa) was not merely trying to ignore the Turkish threat, but was supporting a Turkish alliance with the French, with the hope of displacing the Spanish from Italy ('Proving Masculinity', in *The Poetics of Masculinity*, ed. by Milligan and Tylus, p. 196). Paul IV did not accede to the Papacy until May 1555, and the first editions of the *Discorso* were out in 1549-1550, when Paul III was pope, hence the dedication of canto XIV to Paul III. However, Terracina's papal dedicatees are updated, from Paul III in the 1550 edition to Giulio III in the 1566 edition (which by that stage was outdated too).

Oime che 'l cor mi trema in tempi tali
 Vedere in volta e 'n arme Italia, e Roma
 La cui superba man temo hor fia doma
 Non senza ira d'Iddio per nostri mali,
 Convenevol non è che 'l santo tempio
 Si strugga, né mi par che 'l giusto Impero
 Lascie il suo regno per viltà di niente.
 Siavi specchio, memoria, e vivo esempio
 La pace e la gran guerra che a noi diero
 Il terzo Paulo e 'l settimo Clemente.⁵¹⁸

She is audacious in accusing the pope of behaving in a manner not fitting to his office ('convenevol') and of effectively conducting the 'wrong' war by leaving unresolved internal divisions within Christianity instead of waging a 'gran guerra' against the true enemy, the Saracens. As Gerry Milligan argues, at this point Terracina displays 'a rather humble politics'.⁵¹⁹ Paul III is a good, peaceful pope because the wars he fought were against the far-off enemy of the German princes; Clement VII had less decided loyalties, leading eventually to the Sack of Rome. The sense that the window of opportunity for Paul IV to establish himself as a successful pope is shrinking is compounded by the following sonnet. The poet's anger becomes even more scathing:

Al medesimo Sommo Pontifice Paulo quarto
 Pastor di Cristo e dela santa Chiesa

⁵¹⁸ *Seste rime* 2, no page number, poem number 22.

⁵¹⁹ 'Proving Masculinity before Women', in *The Poetics of Masculinity*, ed. by Milligan and Tylus, p. 198.

Come non scacci il tuo crudel nemico?
 Che divora tua gregge appar d'un Lico,
 Essendo tu costretto a tor l'impresa?
 Vedi la nostra fè, negletta, lesa,
 E tu, di Pietro il più fedele amico,
 Poco ti curi di suo tanto intrico
 Anzi par che non tocchi a te l'offesa?
 Che disegno crudel, che desio vano
 E, del Re franco, che patir vol parme
 Che facciano di noi Turchi macello?
 Dhè, manda fuori la tua forte mano,
 Non con inchiostro e carte, ma con arme,
 E, percuoti, signore, e questo e quello.⁵²⁰

The list of accusations is weighty indeed: not only does Paul not fight off the cruel enemy, he is allowing the Christian faith to fall into neglect at the mercy of the foe. The time has come, Terracina states, for more than mere lip service to change: the pope must take up arms and fight, the informal tone and broken rhythm of the sonnet's final sentence already moving to the register of action and warfare. As Gerry Milligan has remarked, the syntax of the second sentence leaves 'Lico' ambiguous: is this mythical beast the foreign threat or, shockingly, the pope himself?⁵²¹

⁵²⁰ *Seste rime* 2, no page number, poem number 23.

⁵²¹ 'Proving Masculinity before Women', in *The Poetics of Masculinity*, ed. by Milligan and Tylus, p. 197.

As though to emphasise her argument, Terracina goes on to describe in even greater detail the sort of devastation which is internally ripping Italy apart. Once more, this sonnet is addressed to Paul IV:

Veggio d'armati piena la campagna,
Odo di trombe il suon in ogni parte.
Veggio nuovi pensieri e nuove carte
Del vecchio odio di Francia con la Spagna.
Veggio la santa chiesa, c'hor si lagna
Di questo esser del mondo, e di questa arte.
Veggio ch'ogniun s'avezza a seguir Marte,
Per distruggere al fin tutta Romagna.
Deh riguarda Pastor nel comun danno
Et ne l'età tua mira che vedrai,
Che 'l tempo è breve e hor l'esposto in fuga.
Tu vedi il pianto e 'l doloroso affanno
Di tutta Italia tua, e i stridi e i guai:
Non bramar che 'l tuo gregie alfin si struga.⁵²²

Colonna's papal sonnet 'Veggio d'alga e fango ormai si carica', which is also critical of apparent papal inaction, shows a clear precedent for the use of 'Veggio'.⁵²³ Italy is portrayed as the pope's own native land, 'tutta Italia tua', which he allows to be destroyed by ancient rivalries, the horrors of war conjured up by images of fields of

⁵²² *Seste rime* 2, no page number, poem number 163.

⁵²³ Published in the Valgrisi edition of Colonna's *rime spirituali* in 1546, so certainly in circulation and available as a source (Colonna, *Rime*, ed. by Bullock, p. 143).

soldiers and the blaring of trumpets. In this context of discussion of the Catholic Church, 'Marte' is implicitly a false idol who has taken the rightful place of God, or at least of God's representative, the pope.

A continuation of this attack is found in a sonnet of the *Nono libro* which is interestingly still addressed to Paul IV, although this sonnet is found in a manuscript dated 1577: Paul IV had died in 1559, and three popes had since succeeded him.⁵²⁴

Non poteva capir mai nel mio ingegno
Che da te se sperasse altro che pace,
Poich'in te sol di Dio l'animo giace
Per rompere al nemico ogni disegno.

Tu dunque almo Pastor sacrato e degno
Struggi 'l gran Turco hormai fiero et audace
Con l'ardita tua man forte e vivace
Per soffogar tant'odio et tanto sdegno.

Questa è la via per dimostrar chi sei;
Quest'è l'honor dela Christiana setta
Acciò ch'una fè habbiamo et un soggetto,
Che s'un principio sol, nei giorni mei
Vedessi un dì per far di tui vendetta,
Nulla morendo havrei doglia nel petto.⁵²⁵

⁵²⁴ Pius IV 1559-1565; Pius V 1566-1572; Gregory XIII 1572-1585.

⁵²⁵ *Nono libro*, MS Palatino 229, fols 77^r-77^v.

Superficially this sonnet is less aggressive than those featured in the *Seste rime* 2, but its sting and the unmistakable venom of its tone soon emerge. First come the knowingly ingenuous opening lines, in which Terracina expresses herself convinced that Paul IV could never want anything but peace and the defeat of the enemy, as God's representative on earth. Thus, she urges him onwards into battle against the 'gran Turco' with simple yet effective physical imagery: 'tua man forte'. It is in the first tercet, however, that the poet really lays down the gauntlet. By simply affirming that this is the means by which the pope will prove who he is, she is implicitly tying his own masculinity to his role as protector of the Church. As both cleric and man he must prove himself for that most important of goals, 'honor'. The pope's personal masculine honour is presented as inextricably bound up with that of the Catholic Church. Rather than insist upon the gentle and peaceful role suggested by the imagery of the 'almo Pastor', Terracina suggests that what is needed is a man to match the times, a fighter who can protect Italy.

Popes who followed Paul IV were not safe from Terracina's advice either. The *Seconda parte* opens with an appeal to Pius V (1566-1572) and the poet's preoccupations have not changed. Christianity remains at risk from external enemies:

Saggio Pastor, gran successor di Pietro,
In cui la santa fè si ferma e regge,
Vedi che 'l tuo nemico sempre dietro
Ti vien, qual lupo per predarti il grege,
E per un vaso poi di fragil vetro
Tien la tua Chiesa e nostra vera legge:
Dunque opra la tua man forte e potente,

Acciò ch'il fier Pagan resti dolente.⁵²⁶

The imagery which she employs is particularly effective: the glass vase that is the Catholic Church, the hungry wolf preying on the flock. While the trope of the hungry wolf and flock is well-established, the 'vaso' is a more unusual image. We do find it in the poetry of Bernardo Tasso in reference to a beloved woman who is a 'vaso di cristallo' effectively containing God's beauty.⁵²⁷ Berardino Rota, a contemporary of Terracina, also refers to human life with the same image:

Ahi vita, in furiosa e forte mano
vasel di fragil vetro, arida fronda
commossa in alpe da rovaio insano!⁵²⁸

Terracina transposes the image's contextual field however, rendering it more effectively potent. The Virgin Mary is often symbolised using an urn or vessel,⁵²⁹ so it is possible that Terracina took the theological precedent and transposed the imagery so that the Church, rather than the Virgin, was the container for God's love. Once more, she appeals to the pope not on spiritual grounds, but on military ones. The canto develops this theme, urging action 'senza tardar'.⁵³⁰ Terracina ends the canto with her most potent argument, which is again linked to gender:

⁵²⁶ *Seconda parte*, I, ll. 1-8.

⁵²⁷ Bernardo Tasso, *Rime*, p. 66 (sonnet LXXXIX).

⁵²⁸ Berardino Rota, *Rime*, ed. by Luca Milite (Parma: Fondazione Pietro Bembo/Ugo Guanda Editore, 2000), pp. 542 (sonnet CCXII).

⁵²⁹ Alva William, *Symbols of the Christian Faith* (Grand Rapids and Cambridge: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2002), p. 126.

⁵³⁰ *Seconda parte*, I, l. 37.

Io per una mi doglio e mi lamento
Che 'n questa sciocca età donna sia nata:
Ch'io vi farei veder con puro intento
L'animo grande e la mia voglia grata.
Ma più che tanto non poss'io, né sento
Di ben, s'aita pria non mi vien data,
Che 'l Mostro Oriental l'ha a se ritratto
Se da colei, che tal quasi m'ha fatto. [...]

Ponete navi in mar con genti fiere,
Et altri legni, e capitan perfetti,
Perché con lieto suon di trombe altere
Possiate al fin troncar suoi crudi ogetti,
Ond'io 'l valor de le christiane schiere
Possa cantar, se da i celesti aspetti
Me ne serà però tanto concesso,
Che mi basti a finir quanto ho promesso.⁵³¹

By lamenting the fact that she, as a woman, is unable to go to war, Terracina places a weighty burden upon her male addressee. By implication, if she, a weak and feeble woman, would be willing to prove her 'voglia grata' to fight, a true man should certainly be desperate to prove his worth against a 'Mostro Oriental'. However, Terracina is unwilling to fulfil the role of the hopeless and disempowered woman left at home, awaiting her menfolk's return (or attack by enemy forces). Instead she paints

⁵³¹ *Seconda parte*, I, ll. 41-64.

herself as the epic poet who will record the exploits of the Christian soldiers for immortal glory, the choice of the verb ‘cantar’ harking back to the Classical poets of old, Virgil or even Homer.⁵³²

Once again, Terracina establishes an unexpected and disruptive dynamic between herself, a woman of unremarkable background and middling poetic ability, and the spiritual leader of Christendom, one of the most powerful men on the planet. Not only does she define her expectations for his role and behaviour, she charges him with a duty towards her and, by implication, corrects his attitude towards the rest of humankind too. Although this was not unprecedented among male and Neapolitan poets of Terracina’s day, there is an additional element of audacity in a woman claiming the moral and rational authority to issue such advice.

A call for Christian unity

Of course, it is not simply the pope who is responsible for the strife which racked Italy, and the French too are implicated – though not the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V, who is simply seen as doing his duty in attempting to unite Christian countries under the banner of the Holy Roman Empire in order to turn east on crusade.⁵³³ Charles V himself believed in his imperial mission.⁵³⁴ The evil of fighting among Christians, as

⁵³² Ariosto also used this device, a metaphor for reading and writing (Robert M. Durling, *The Figure of the Poet in Renaissance Epic* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1965), p. 113).

⁵³³ See also Veronica Gambara’s laudatory sonnets ‘Là dove più con le sue lucid’onde’ and ‘Quel che di tutto il bel ricco oriente’ for other examples of encomiastic poetry by women addressed to Charles V. For more on empire in the early modern period, see Thomas James Dandeleit, *The Renaissance of Empire in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

⁵³⁴ *The New Cambridge Modern History. Volume II. The Reformation 1520-1559*, ed. by G.R. Elton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958), p. 11.

opposed to a recognisably more 'other' foe, had been previously recognised: Erasmus asked in his *Querela pacis* 'What was the sum of his [Christ's] teaching, instruction, commandment, and prayer, if not that they should love one another?'⁵³⁵ As noted above, Ludovico Ariosto believed the key to peace in Europe lay in political rapprochement between France and Spain – in turn, leading to peace for the perennial battleground of Italy – rather than in the actions of religious leaders.⁵³⁶ Advocating for peace among Christians is easy for Terracina, fitting as it does with her broader imperial political stance, as well as her personal desire for calm. It plays into the desires of her Spanish and Neapolitan readers and supporters in a way sure to garner their approval, so furthering her own strategy of social networking while bolstering her image as a rational political observer. In this way, she avoids the difficulties with which Ariosto contended, of the shifting alliances of Ferrara during the decades in which he edited the *Furioso*.⁵³⁷ In the final 1532 edition of his work, however, Ariosto did add an extended indictment of French invasions of Italy, at a time when imperial power was dominant in Italy, although not without adding balancing praise of King Francis I at the Battle of Pavia.⁵³⁸

⁵³⁵ Rummel, p. 299.

⁵³⁶ Elizabeth S. Watson, 'Ariosto's Cinque Canti and the Threat to Europe' in *Perspectives on Early Modern and Modern Intellectual History. Essays in Honor of Nancy S. Streuver*, ed. by Joseph Marino and Melinda W. Schlitt (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2000), pp. 193-207 (p. 196). Watson also notes that '[i]n this, he [Ariosto] resembles a supporter of Gallican policies like Jean Lemaire de Belges, who also called for rapprochement between France and Italy in his 1512 *Concorde des deux langages*' (p. 196).

⁵³⁷ On how Ariosto managed this, see Durling, *The Figure*, pp. 139-45.

⁵³⁸ *Orlando Furioso*, XXXIII, stanzas 1-59 (Larivaille, 'Poeta, principe, pubblico', p. 18-19). See also Larivaille, 'Guerra e ideologia' and Villa, 'Variazioni sull'idea'.

In addressing the French King Henry in the *Discorso*, Terracina's tone is almost pitying, explaining to the king that his own bad luck and inferior forces make his continued struggles in the Italian peninsula futile: he would do better to ally with the Spanish against the true foe, the non-Christian Other:

Christianissimo Re, l'adversa sorte
Scimando ti vien spesso ogni disegno.
Il nostro Re gl'è assai di te più forte:
Questo si è visto, e vede, in ogni segno
Et miglior gente, di battaglia e morte
Tien nostra Italia Spagna, e di più ingegno,
Sì che Signor congiungi a Spagna il franco,
Et fiasi il Turcho del suo regno in bianco.⁵³⁹

While respectful towards the French king, Terracina leaves no doubt that she considers his steadfast opposition to the Spanish foolish and ultimately detrimental to the Christian world more widely. Indeed, she has no doubt that one day the French will be forced to see the error of their ways, as prophesied in the *Seste rime* 2:

Profetia della Signora Laura fatta a li tre di Giugno del 52
Vedrassi al ciel salir l'Aquila altera
Sovra di Francia, e col bel volo adorno
A colui che predice e notte e giorno
Romperà il tergo e la sua voglia fera.
Vedrassi poi l'a Dio diletta schiera
Vincer di Bacco, e non senza ira e scorno

⁵³⁹ *Discorso*, XL, ll. 1-8.

La vilipesa gente, e a far soggiorno
 Mandralla in grembo a la crudel Megera.⁵⁴⁰
 Vedransi gli tre gigli e le tre lune
 Dal'una insegna dele quattro elette
 Prostarsi a terra, e ricondursi al fondo.
 Vedrassi di Pianeti il dir commune
 Giunto che l'anno fia cinquanta sette
 Esser Carlo signor di tutto il mondo.⁵⁴¹

Adopting a deliberately mystical tone employing imagery and allegory, in this sonnet dated 1552 but published with the author's permission in 1560, Terracina predicts that 1557 will be the year when peace breaks out and 'l'Aquila', the eagle of the Empire, will overpower France.⁵⁴² God's 'diletta schiera' are the troops of the empire overcoming the godless, represented by Bacchus, and delivering them to the fates. Similarly in the first tercet, the three lilies are the typical symbol of the French monarchy.⁵⁴³ The symbolism of the three moons is harder to trace, but is likely a reference to Diane of Poitiers, whose emblem was three interlinked crescent moons, a play on her name.⁵⁴⁴ It is unclear whom the 'four elect' might be, possibly the four angels from the Book of Revelation, but the sense of the prophecy is clear: those who oppose the empire will become allies or be defeated.

⁵⁴⁰ Megera is one of the three fates.

⁵⁴¹ *Seste rime* 2, no page number, poem number 24.

⁵⁴² For more on the genre of prophecy in sixteenth-century Italy, see Ottavia Niccoli, *Prophecy and People in Renaissance Italy*, trans. by Lydia G. Cochrane (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990).

⁵⁴³ G. di Crollanza, *Enciclopedia araldico-cavalleresca* (Pisa: unknown, 1876-1877), p. 318.

⁵⁴⁴ My thanks to Brian Richardson for this suggestion.

Although prophecy had been a widely popular genre across social classes in the first part of the sixteenth century, it had become less widespread in the increasingly orthodox climate of the Counter Reformation. Nonetheless, it was a genre which attracted a readership of all social classes,⁵⁴⁵ which might explain why Terracina used it. The subject upon which she prophesies, the rule of Charles V, was a popular one prior to the Council of Trent. Presumably this subject matter, along with the artistic licence which might be granted to a collection of encomiastic poetry, was felt to be sufficiently respectable so as not to attract the attention of the Church. An enduring empire was not to be, however, and in 1558 Charles V abdicated and partitioned the lands of the empire between his son and his younger brother, effectively creating Spanish and Hapsburg branches.⁵⁴⁶ When a measure of peace was effectively achieved, Terracina was prepared to celebrate it and continue her urging for military action against the Turkish, as we see in this sonnet from the *Nono libro* addressed jointly to King Philip of Spain and Henry, King of France:⁵⁴⁷

Non si mostrò il gran Dio giamai tenace
 Del'immenso suo amor verso il suo gregge,
 Et che sia il vero, il ver dice sua legge
 La qual non fu né spera esser fallace.
 Ecco hoggi fatta una tranquilla pace
 Fra nostri di cui simil non si legge,

⁵⁴⁵ Niccoli, pp. xvi, 195.

⁵⁴⁶ *The Holy Roman Empire, 1495-1806. A European Perspective*, ed. by R.J.W. Evans and Peter H. Wilson (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2012), p. 3. The Austrian branch continued to hold the Holy Roman title, and eventually by 1714 had acquired Spain's former Italian possessions (Evans and Wilson, p. 3).

⁵⁴⁷ Henry II ruled France 1547-1559 and was succeeded by Francis II (1559-1560), Charles IX (1560-1574) and Henry III (1574-1589) in Terracina's lifetime.

Mercè dunque del ciel, che guida et regge
Et rende humile ogni pensiero audace.

Io certo n'ho nel cor tanta vaghezza
Che dirla non bast'io, né scriver tanto
Quanto la lingua per cantar m'aspetta.

Hor movetivi homai con più prestezza
Et voi n'habbiate sol la gloria e'l vanto
Di porre il Turco atterra, e la sua setta.⁵⁴⁸

As ever, Terracina refuses to be content with peace in Italy, apparently viewing it as a spiritual obligation to 'porre il Turco atterra, e la sua setta'.

At the outset of her writing career, it was the Holy Roman Empire which Terracina envisaged as the natural overarching form of government for Christian nations and her support for imperial forces was steadfast. In particular, it was her frequent dedicatee Charles V who was conceived of as the new Charlemagne who might rebuild an entire Christian empire. Terracina clung to her old allegiances: the *Seste rime* 2 includes a canzone, presumably written some time before, addressing the 'invittissimo Carlo Quinto' and encouraging him in the defeat of both France and Turkey, although by the time of publication he had both abdicated and died. Although by this stage these imperial dreams were obviously long dead, she still published the poem, perhaps through nostalgia and pride in her powers of poetic composition. In the end, of course, her hopes of empire were unfounded, but she was able to adapt her loyalties to the new political status quo and focus her attention on the true enemy, the Turkish infidel, who might still be defeated through a powerful alliance of Christian nations.

⁵⁴⁸ *Nono libro*, MS Palatino 229, fol. 77^v.

Terracina was not alone in fostering such hopes, and her expression of them in poetry is comparable to other poets writing in Naples at the time, such as Berardino Rota.⁵⁴⁹ The most striking comparison is with Luigi Tansillo, a poetic correspondent of Terracina and a major Neapolitan poet. Like Terracina, he was supportive of the Spanish and the Holy Roman Empire, portraying the Spanish as imperial descendants of the Romans,⁵⁵⁰ and critical of French hostilities, as is demonstrated in a sonnet likely composed at the time of recommencing French-Spanish hostilities in 1542, addressed to the Viceroy of Naples:

Ecco che Francia un'altra volta cinge
la spada al danno suo sì spesso accinta,
e d'odio e di livor le guance tinta,
scende dai monti ov'il furor la spinge.⁵⁵¹

Throughout Tansillo's work is a sense of the necessity of a Christian union, led by the Emperor and supported by the French, which will in turn bring peace in Europe and vanquish the Saracen enemy. A celebration of a successful union of this type is found in the sonnet 'Cantor di Tebro e d'Arno, a cui secondo', in which he invites other poets to celebrate a military victory of Don Garcia di Toledo in 1550:

⁵⁴⁹ 'O di questo e quel mostro uno e sovrano', Rota, *Rime*, p. 262; 'Quando il più degno mio novo Torquato', Rota, *Rime*, p. 269.

⁵⁵⁰ J.-Graciliano Gonzalez Miguel, *Presencia napolitana*, p. 40. This is also a useful source on Tansillo's relationship with the Spanish rulers of Naples.

⁵⁵¹ Tansillo, *Rime*, ed. by Tobia Toscano (Rome: Bulzoni Editore, 2011), pp. 651-52. Tansillo had a military as well as a literary career from 1535, working with Pietro di Toledo and then his son Don Garcia, a trajectory more typical of Spanish than Italian poets, which would have given his military poetry a certain authority (Milburn, *Luigi Tansillo*, p. 2).

Uno è il regno di Cristo, una è la Chiesa,
tutti sem noi d'un Re, tutti sem noi
purgati al fiume del suo lato santo.

Cantate il duro assedio e l'alta impresa
del nostro Ispano e 'l gran valor de' suoi
che fur sí pochi e vinsero e fer tanto!⁵⁵²

The proud celebration of Christian unity has clear echoes in Terracina's work. Francesco Carafa, the dominant figure of the Neapolitan academy scene in the midcentury, is equally desirous to see an end to what he calls 'la civil guerra', which has 'mosso' him far more than the fighting he has seen '[i]n Africa, in Germania, in Inghilterra':⁵⁵³

Ch'io vidi, m'attristì, che un foco ardente,
E l'odio, che tra un popol si inserra.⁵⁵⁴

In her cries for peace, Terracina is lending her voice to a broader chorus of men and women who envisage an end to the warfare that has riven the Italian peninsula for so many years. Thus, her poetry on this theme serves two purposes: not only does it call for peace, but it furthers Terracina's personal project of social acclaim and entry into prestigious literary circles.

⁵⁵² Tansillo, *Rime*, p. 445.

⁵⁵³ *I sei libri della Carafe di Ferrante Carrafa marchese di San Lucido sopra varij, & diuersi soggetti, ad imitatione di poeti lirici, greci, & latini* (Aquila: Giuseppe Cacchio, 1580), p. 55.

⁵⁵⁴ *I sei libri*, p. 55.

Taking the fight to the enemy

Once a form of Christian unity has been established, Terracina has a clear idea of the next step: the true fight must be embarked upon, against the Turkish foe. Tensions with Turkish adversaries had been running high for years, and would have felt particularly threatening for Terracina and others like her living on the Neapolitan coastline, which suffered enemy incursion first hand. Following the Turkish assault of 21st May 1563, the Spanish government went as far as to build the Torretta di Chiaia as a watchpost and defence.⁵⁵⁵ Terracina even chronicled one such event in verse:

Nell'assalto che diero li Turchi a questa spiaggia
Oh, crudel moto! Oh, cosa horrenda e fiera
Non soccesa qui mai né vista ancora!
Alli sessantatré, 'nanzi a l'aurora,
Il dì che maggio alli vinti a un giunt'era,
Scesero in questa piaggia nostra altiera
Tre vascelli di Turchi a la sesta hora,⁵⁵⁶
Gridando: "Salva, salva! Fuora, fuora!
Turchi, Turchi! Fuggiti alla legiera!"
Fu per certo il timor grande e 'l tormento
Di tutti nostri cittadini e donne,
Ch'il più bel sonno a l'improvviso denno!
Piacque a Dio ch'in quel sì fiero tormento
Chi scalze si salva, chi senza gonne,
E quei che tolti fur non hebber senno.⁵⁵⁷

⁵⁵⁵ Montella, p. 108.

⁵⁵⁶ That is, at midnight.

⁵⁵⁷ Montella, p. 80, citing *Nono libro*, MS Palatino 229, fols 95^r-96^v.

What seems to have made an impression upon Terracina in this case are particularly the fear and panic among those who would ideally not be exposed to war, women, as well as the defencelessness implied by barefoot citizens. Although the Turkish in Terracina's poetry generally appear as a faceless and vicious Other, she had experienced brushes with the enemy, as in this case. Her own house stood but a few hundred yards from the exposed Riviera di Chiaia coast, a prime landing place. Indeed, the 1563 assault was not an isolated incident of incursion into Naples: in 1534 there was an attempt to kidnap the noblewoman Giulia Gonzaga by the corsair Ariadeno Barbarossa, with the intention of delivering her to Sultan Soliman II. Although Gonzaga successfully escaped into nearby woodland, the event proved a shock to Italy and indeed the Christian world at large, providing one of the motives for Charles V's expedition against the Turkish in 1535.⁵⁵⁸ While some, such as Erasmus, sought common ground between Christians and the 'Other' in his various guises ('the Turks are men, and, what is more, half-Christian'⁵⁵⁹), anti-Turkish feeling remained strong and was promoted in various genres,⁵⁶⁰ particularly among those who felt most at risk.

Other poets in Naples were similarly conscious of their exposed position, and we find similar visions of Christian crusaders overcoming the foe in the work of Luigi Tansillo, for example:

Sì certo io son del ben che 'l mondo attende
dal gran Filippo e l'età nostra spera,

⁵⁵⁸ Ciro Rubino, *Tansilliana (La vita, la poesia e le opere di Luigi Tansillo)* (Naples: Istituto grafico editoriale italiano, 1996), p. 39 and Tansillo, *Rime*, ed. by Toscano, pp. 251-52.

⁵⁵⁹ Rummel, p. 317.

⁵⁶⁰ For instance, see *Oratione per la Guerra contra Turchi a Sisto Quinto Pontefice Massimo, et a gl'altri Prencipi Christiani* (Rome: Giorgio Ferrario, 1589).

che già vedo ondeggiar l'aquila altera
per l'Oriente e biancheggiar le tende.⁵⁶¹

Ferrante Carafa similarly imagines celebrating the victories of the 'sette colli famosi' of Rome:

Ove hor trionfa del infido orgoglio
Di Carlo il figlio alto, e gran sol romano,
Sotto il gran Re Filippo, e il Pastor Pio.⁵⁶²

Clearly, Terracina was far from alone in exploring such potent imagery and themes in Naples at this time, unsurprisingly given the city's exposed geographical position and Spanish rule. However, laments came from across the peninsula about the destruction wrought upon all of Italy by foreign or indigenous leaders who would be wiser to combine forces and attack a non-Christian foe rather than each other. In the *Orlando Furioso*, for example, Ariosto fires a volley of plaintive questions to the Spanish, French, Swiss and Germans:

Se Cristianissimi esser voi volete,
E voi altri Catolici nomati,
Perché di Cristo gli uomini uccidete?
Perché de' beni lor son dispogliati?
Perché Ierusalem non riavete,
Che tolto è stato a voi da' rinegati?

⁵⁶¹ Sonnet in *La raccolta per Ruy Gómez de Silva*, Madrid, Biblioteca Academia de la Historia, MS 9-2160, in Tansillo, *Rime*, ed. by Toscano, pp. 499-500.

⁵⁶² Caraffa, *I sei libri*, p. 43.

Perché Costantinopoli e del mondo

La miglior parte occupa il Turco immondo?⁵⁶³

Terracina in effect adds her voice to a growing chorus calling for peace at home, and Christian expansion abroad.⁵⁶⁴ As if to encourage such a crusade, Ariosto is unsparing in his depiction of the brutality which invaders could and did inflict upon Europe:

Scorse ogni lor luogo il Turco e 'l Moro

Con stupri, uccision, rapine et onte [...]

Vede tra via la gente sua troncata,

Arsi i palazzi, e ruinati i templi,

Gran parte de la terra desolata:

Mai non si vider sì crudeli esempi.⁵⁶⁵

Nonetheless, warfare is a less fraught topic for male poets to approach, as their own masculinity – and perhaps experience – granted them the authority to discuss such matters. Terracina, however, seems typically undaunted by this; indeed, when the time seemed right she was unafraid to directly address the Turkish ruler, in canto IV of the *Discorso*:

Al Soltan Soliman, Re de Turchi

Quanto sia giusta, chiara, santa, e vera

⁵⁶³ *Orlando Furioso*, XVII, ll. 592-600 (stanza 75).

⁵⁶⁴ In this light, it is unsurprising that the most successful epic poem to follow the *Orlando Furioso*, Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata*, should not be set in western Europe.

⁵⁶⁵ *Orlando Furioso*, XVII, ll. 43-4; 49-52. On Isabella Cervoni's later use of the words of this canto, see Wainwright, 'A Simple Virgin', pp. 12-14.

La fè de Christo e del suo patre eterno.
Già lo conosci, per ogni manniera,
Ma perché il tuo pensier malvagio è interno,
Che ti tien ferma la tua mente altiera,
Al fin ti ridurrà ne l'aspro inferno:
Anzi che ti verrai in uno istante
A dispetto morir, come Agramante. [...]

Né pensar tu che 'l ciel non si ramenta
De le offese crudel ch'ogn'hor li porgi,
Et del futuro tuo danno si contenta
Quando ti vè ostinato e mal ti sorgi,
Anchor che di pietà l'ira vien spenta.
Il fa sol Dio, forse nel ben ti scorgi,
Ma poi nel fin ti annoda, in uno istante,
Quel'esser può catena di diamante.⁵⁶⁶

In a bold and unexpected manoeuvre, Terracina opens the canto by accusing the Muslim leader of rank hypocrisy: he knows Christianity to be the true faith, but refusing to acknowledge it perseveres in war. Unsurprisingly, Terracina has an orthodox view that such an attitude will lead him inevitably to hell and uses striking imagery of the sultan being bound to this fate with a diamond chain. At no point does Terracina step outside her orthodox Christian framework: the sultan is simply a faceless Other of whom she need know nothing, except that he will not publicly admit the supremacy of Christianity. The directness of her attack, however, is surprising from a woman, clearly showing that Terracina is unafraid to engage actively and provocatively with debates of the day.

⁵⁶⁶ *Discorso*, XLII, ll. 1-24.

The damage of war

One further aspect of Terracina's attitude towards politics and warfare remains to be explored: her representation of the devastation caused by military action and associated male cruelty on her own land and people. Events such as the Sack of Rome in 1527 had an incalculable impact upon the national psyche,⁵⁶⁷ with women suffering particularly at the hands of soldiers from violent physical and sexual attacks. In a world which valued women primarily for their purity, such horror had implications well beyond the attack itself. This horror must be contextualised, however, in a world which had a much higher tolerance for violence, particularly against women, than might be considered acceptable today. Nonetheless, the changing nature of warfare in the sixteenth century drew criticism from those who witnessed it, including Ariosto,⁵⁶⁸ as they perceived it to be ever more brutal and inhumane. Armies were larger and lacked discipline, partly because they were made up of a large proportion of mercenaries who fought simply for financial gain and other 'benefits' or 'opportunities' such as they might be.⁵⁶⁹ The increased size of armies was largely due to the introduction of gunpowder in European warfare, leading to firearms becoming the standard missile weapon.⁵⁷⁰ Not only did gunpowder lead to greater loss of life directly, it had pernicious secondary effects: higher taxes, as it was more expensive for the government; longer sieges which extended the active year of the campaigner; more

⁵⁶⁷ For more on the Sack of Rome and its impact, see André Chastel, *The Sack of Rome, 1527*, trans. by Beth Archer (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1983); Kenneth Gouwens, 'Discourses of Vulnerability: Pietro Alcinio's Orations on the Sack of Rome', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 50 (1997) 38-77; Judith Hook, *The Sack of Rome, 1527* (London: Macmillan, 1972).

⁵⁶⁸ Durling, *The Figure*, p. 138.

⁵⁶⁹ Wolfthal, p. 86.

⁵⁷⁰ Hale, p. 47.

fierce recruitment.⁵⁷¹ In his 1516 *Institutio principis christiani*, Erasmus stated that ‘the tide of war overflows with everything that is worst; what is more, there is no evil that persists so stubbornly’.⁵⁷²

This continual suffering on the part of civilian populations stands in contrast to frameworks of war, which generally depended on *jus in bello* and *jus ad bellum*. *Jus in bello* held that not only should the reason for going to war be just, but that methods used in warfare should also be just. *Jus ad bellum*, derived from chivalric codes, held that only the cause of war must be just.⁵⁷³ For the civilian who saw their life (repeatedly) torn apart by war, chin-stroking reasoning on the ‘right’ war must have had little relevance.⁵⁷⁴ In practice, ‘secondary’ violence against civilians was a predictable part of warfare. In almost all treatises on war written up to the seventeenth century, for example, it was considered acceptable for soldiers to violate enemy women.⁵⁷⁵ Virility was part of the heroic ideal, and so sexual violence was a central issue in the debate surrounding a soldier’s manliness.⁵⁷⁶ In 1522, Erasmus condemned the atrocities committed by Christian soldiers, which included the rape of nuns, and in the *Complaint of Peace* he argued that war leads to rape specifically.⁵⁷⁷ Diane Wolfthal notes that in sixteenth-century German art, rape was often viewed within a larger context that took in the brutality of soldiers and their sexual misconduct more

⁵⁷¹ Hale, pp. 46-7.

⁵⁷² Rummel, p. 280.

⁵⁷³ Wolfthal, p. 65.

⁵⁷⁴ For more on civilians during warfare, see ‘The Direct Impact of War on Civilians’ in Hale, pp. 179-208.

⁵⁷⁵ Wolfthal, p. 2.

⁵⁷⁶ Wolfthal, pp. 85, 87.

⁵⁷⁷ Wolfthal, p. 87. Erasmus has been seen variously as a ‘cerebral moralist’ and as a ‘voice of sanity’ in a war-ravaged society (Tracy, pp.4 -5).

broadly.⁵⁷⁸ A largely condemnatory attitude towards sexual misconduct on the part of male warriors, on and off the battlefield, was also reflected in popular literature. Even supposedly noble and upstanding knights could prove irrepressibly lascivious, as the *Furioso* shows. Ruggiero, for example, having saved Angelica considers her virginity a suitable 'guiderdone', whether or not she consented, and calls her 'crudel' for escaping his clutches.⁵⁷⁹ Thus, when Terracina writes condemning acts of unimaginable depravity, she does so from an established cultural position.

Discorso XV is Terracina's strongest attack on male violence in warfare, addressed to 'crudeli et sanguinosi capitani', in a passage which makes explicit some of the underlying themes and tension of her source in *Orlando Furioso* XIV and XV. The exordium of *Orlando Furioso* XIV lays bare the potential wastage of war by suggesting the Pyrrhic qualities of Saracen victories:

Più si doleano i Saracin, per molti
 Principi e gran baron ch'eran lor tolti.
 Ebbon vittorie così sanguinose,
 Che lor poco avanzò di che allegrarsi.⁵⁸⁰

Within the canto itself, Ariosto praises his lord Alfonso's magnanimous and merciful treatment of his enemy Fabrizio Colonna:

Quella vittoria fu più di conforto
 Che d'allegrezza, perché troppo pesa

⁵⁷⁸ Wolfthal, p. 91.

⁵⁷⁹ See *Orlando Furioso*, XI, especially stanza 8.

⁵⁸⁰ *Orlando Furioso*, XIV, ll. 7-10.

Contra la gioia nostra il veder morto
Il capitan di Francia e de l'impresa.⁵⁸¹

The importance and, indeed, nobility of chivalry in warfare is once again the theme of the exordium to *Orlando Furioso* XV, in which Ariosto is critical of 'bloody' victories:

Fu il vincer sempremai laudabil cosa,
Vincasi o per fortuna o per ingegno:
Gli è ver che la vittoria sanguinosa
Spesso far suole il capitan men degno.⁵⁸²

In her appropriation of Ariosto's work, Terracina takes the central preoccupation of the unnecessary slaughter of war, but removes ambiguous praise of the Ferrara court. Her attention is focused instead upon mitigating the effects of warfare on the populace, by envisaging an alternative attitude towards combat. In the opening stanza of the canto, Terracina places women among a list of those vulnerable to attack:

Voi saggi Capitani almi e perfetti,
C'havete cura de' franchi soldati,
Ponete il freno a' lor superbi petti,
Acciò che non sian contra di noi sfrenati.

⁵⁸¹ *Orlando Furioso*, XIV, ll. 49-52. On Ariosto's treatment of the Battle of Ravenna, see Durling, *The Figure*, pp. 140-44. On the broader theme of how Ariosto interacted with his Este patrons and represented (dis)approval of their actions, see Giorgio Masi, "The Nightingale in a Cage': Ariosto and the Este Court, in *Ariosto Today. Contemporary Perspectives*, ed. by Don Beecher, Massimo Ciavolella and Roberto Fedi (Toronto, Buffalo, London: Toronto University Press, 2003), pp. 71-92.

⁵⁸² *Orlando Furioso*, XV, ll. 1-4.

Poi che donzelle, vecchi, e poveretti
 Da lor con pari ingiuria son trattati,
 Bench'io vi scolpo, che ne la vittoria
 Ogn'un pensa a sua fama e a sua gloria.⁵⁸³

Typically, these opening lines provide the opportunity for Terracina's *captatio benevolentiae*, ingratiating herself with her audience by praising them and implying their martial prowess. Evidently, however, she is really concerned by captains' lack of control of their troops, and in the following stanza the tone quickly changes to brutal sarcasm:

Qual Capitan, qual conduttier, che regge
 Un giovenile esercito gagliardo
 De la impietà crudel, ritiene e fregge
 Il furor sanguinoso e il crudo dardo?
 Qual fia soldato pur ch'osservi legge
 Che non fia contra donna un Leopardo?
 Giudicio sano gli è, ch'in ogni cosa
 Fu il vincer sempremai laudabil cosa.⁵⁸⁴

Just as Ariosto's original was maliciously ambiguous in its praise of Este victory 'o per fortuna o per ingegno',⁵⁸⁵ so Terracina throws doubt upon the apparent nobility of victory in warfare. She asks whether it would not be more noble to allow the enemy to escape and avoid bloodshed, rather than punishing not only soldiers but also civilians: 'che colpa di questo hanno i figliuoli, / E tanti vecchi, e tante afflitte donne, /

⁵⁸³ *Discorso*, XV, ll. 1-8.

⁵⁸⁴ *Discorso*, XV, ll. 9-16.

⁵⁸⁵ *Orlando Furioso*, XV, l. 2.

Che d'altrui fallir patiscon duoli?'.⁵⁸⁶ The imagery she uses is haunting, and sounds surprisingly modern: 'Qual pensier è, che tanto vi disdonne, / Che di noi fate i nostri padre soli / Lasciando empîi trofei di veste e gonne?'.⁵⁸⁷ As the poet depicts it, no woman is safe from the bestial lusts of ravaging soldiers who know no rein, as though soldiers are the very worst form of uncontrollable, misguided manhood depicted elsewhere in the *Discorso*.⁵⁸⁸ She deliberately selects imagery which is graphic and uncomfortable: fathers left 'soli' thanks to the 'preste e fier coltelle'⁵⁸⁹ of the soldiers. In her eyes, this effectively undercuts the victories of the armies by ruining them with 'duoli'.⁵⁹⁰

Terracina argues instead for both captains and soldiers to show restraint, 'ritengo e freno',⁵⁹¹ and indeed the Christian virtue of mercy towards a number of groups, not only the elderly, women and children but even, and perhaps surprisingly, the enemy. She envisages in this canto an alternative ethical system in which soldiers prove their worth not through brutality or numbers slaughtered, but through merciful and magnanimous behaviour, proudly affirming Ariosto's praise for merciful treatment of enemy captains to include all troops:

Quanto saria miglior dare al nemico
Loco, che fugir possa, e tu vittore
Rimanghi de l'impresa e de l'amico,

⁵⁸⁶ *Discorso*, XV, ll. 17-19.

⁵⁸⁷ *Discorso*, XV, ll. 20-22.

⁵⁸⁸ See for example *Discorso* canto V ('Chi nemico e di donne, i[n] altro ha cura') and canto X ('A gli insaciabili libidinosi').

⁵⁸⁹ *Discorso*, XV, ll. 19-20.

⁵⁹⁰ *Discorso*, XV, l. 21.

⁵⁹¹ *Discorso*, XV, l. 3.

Et haver dell'essercito l'honore,
Come sagace e Capitano antico.⁵⁹²

She, however, proposes an honourable and merciful form of behaviour, giving the enemy time to flee, which would still leave the winning troops victorious and gain the captain the reputation of being wise in the style of ancient captains who valued human life as well as bloody victory:

Ch'è molto di lodare e fia beato
Quando serbando i suoi, senza alcun danno,
Si fa che gli inimici in rotta vanno.⁵⁹³

As a female poet, Terracina was in an unusual and ambiguous position to offer such advice. On the one hand, she could be seen as interfering in matters which did not concern her, but of course such matters did concern her: as she makes clear, those who suffer most bodily in conflict can be the physically weak who are meant to be excluded from battle. Simplistic soldier/civilian binaries did not account for the situation which parts of Italy had experienced so many times in living memory when troops overran towns and villages abandoned hopelessly by their defenders. Terracina, as a realist, knows that she has a right to proffer an opinion as one who might become victim to a sharpened knife or a so-called 'leopard':

Mi potrete ben dire hor tu sei donna,
Et però essalti il sesso femminile:
Io dico il vero, e si mi cuopre gonna

⁵⁹² *Discorso*, XV, ll. 25-9.

⁵⁹³ *Discorso*, XV, ll. 62-4.

So più di voi, che voi di vostro stile.⁵⁹⁴

The terrifying prospect of untrammelled male lust in warfare is one aspect of a wider condemnation of male lust itself, presented as uncontrollable and violently deleterious to society. In canto XI, addressed to 'insatiabili libidinosi', she asks:

Quante matrone, ricche e tapinelle,
Le conducete svergognate a morte?
Quanti innocenti e pure verginelle
Vanno, dove lor mena l'empia sorte,
Et s'ode il grido in sino a l'alte stelle
Del vostro desiderio horrendo e forte?⁵⁹⁵

Once again Terracina distinguishes between women who have been sexually initiated and virgins. However, by placing even the 'matrone' in the company of the 'innocenti e pure verginelle', whose innocence is emphasised by the diminutive suffix, sympathy is aroused for all the women. None of them deserve their fate, either on earth or beyond, simply because of male madness, the force of which is underlined by the violence of 'horrendo e forte'. In canto XXIV, which attacks the maddening effects of love and describes the state as 'zizania',⁵⁹⁶ Terracina once again defends women who are unfairly portrayed as the cause of such insanity, when in fact male weakness lies at its root:

Ben che diciate che le donne in tutti
Son principio e fin d'immenso male,

⁵⁹⁴ *Discorso*, XXVII, ll. 49-52.

⁵⁹⁵ *Discorso*, XXVII, ll. 25-30.

⁵⁹⁶ *Discorso*, XXIV, l. 15.

Et che son causa anchor farci distrutti
Per l'universo mondo in pena tale,
Hor se voi stolti in tal sete condutti
Come le donne poi con sì infernale:
Non le donne, ma voi sete sì frale
A giudicio di savi universale.⁵⁹⁷

Terracina's appeal to an outside authority in the final line, invoked as 'proof' of her hypothesis of male frailty, is a good example of how she can successfully integrate Ariosto's words into her own work without it feeling forced. Here, she adds in this consideration of gender and defence of women, while in Ariosto's poem he is reflecting on the amorous insanity which is gripping Orlando without considering it from a gendered angle.⁵⁹⁸

Terracina's status as a woman also allowed her to speak in the sense that she had no need to prove or defend her masculinity as a male counterpart might have done. Her starting position of comparative weakness, as a woman irrational and overloaded with feelings, meant she had no honour to lose in suggesting that enemy forces might be granted mercy and permitted to flee. Moreover, she occupies a woman's traditional position on the edge of warfare, that of recognising military glory and effectively dispensing military honour. By changing the terms of success, so that 'è molto di lodare' and 'beato' to be merciful, she holds to ransom the traditional and vital recognition afforded to soldiers, that glorious homecoming of the returning hero.

⁵⁹⁷ *Discorso*, XXVII, ll. 33-40.

⁵⁹⁸ On gender and warfare within the *Orlando Furioso*, see Marilyn Miguel, 'Olimpia's Secret Weapon: Gender, War, and Hermeneutics in Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*', *Critical Matrix*, 9 (1995), 21-44.

Nonetheless, it is important to contextualise Terracina's pleas for peace as a woman within a wider poetic tradition in which male poets might also describe the benefits of peace, rather than simply continually blindly advocating for war. In a sonnet to Alfonso d'Avalos, the Marchese del Vasto, Luigi Tansillo explicitly states that 'pace vorrei'.⁵⁹⁹ Another sonnet addressed 'ai Principi italiani, perché non si mettano in una nuova guerra', makes a similar case for peace:

Qual furor cieco v'arma a nova guerra,
o voi ch'il fren d'Italia avete in mano?

Forse vi par che poco sangue umano
se sia sparso e sul mar a su la terra?

Deh, perché vostro alto valor non serra
dopo tant'anni il gran tempio di Giano,
che vada ad arder clima piú lontano
la discordia e l'Arpie vadan sotterra?

L'alme per voi a Cerbero sacrate
e l'ossa onde biancheggian le campagne
ponetevi, per Dio, dinanzi agli occhi!

Quando lacrima il volto non vi bagne,
esser non può che raggio di pietate
non vi fera nel petto e il cor vi tocchi.⁶⁰⁰

Like Terracina, Tansillo uses highly emotive imagery to evoke the horrors of war, with the countryside turned white by bones. Bernardo Tasso uses a similar image of 'bianchi campi ampi et aperti' 'di nemiche ossa coperti',⁶⁰¹ suggesting that seemingly

⁵⁹⁹ Tansillo, *Rime*, ed. by Toscano, pp. 650-51, l. 5.

⁶⁰⁰ Tansillo, *Rime*, ed. by Toscano pp. 740-41.

⁶⁰¹ Bernardo Tasso, *Rime*, vol. 1, p. 136 (sonnet XII).

potent imagery was in fact customary. Contemporaries of Ariosto portrayed warfare in poetry intimately, as though it were occurring in front of them.⁶⁰² Tansillo's use of rhetorical questions is sharp, even biting, effectively accusing political leaders of being completely unaware of the horrifying bloodshed they cause. Clearly, it was not just women who suffered so from the wars of Italy that they felt moved to make the case for peace, although female poets such as Colonna did so.⁶⁰³ Even men, whose social capital was more tightly bound with the need to appear strong and fearless, were willing to take the risk of publicly denouncing the wars destroying Italy.⁶⁰⁴ Ariosto includes a number of depictions of the brutalities that warfare can inflict upon ordinary people, reducing them to the level of slaughtered livestock:⁶⁰⁵

Ah sfortunata plebe,
 Che dove del tiranno utile appare,
 Sempre è in conto di pecore e di zebe!
 Chi s'affoga nel fiume e chi nel mare,
 Chi sanguinose fa di sé le glebe.
 Molti perir, pochi restar prigionieri.⁶⁰⁶

⁶⁰² Milligan, 'Proving Masculinity', in *The Poetics of Masculinity*, ed. by Milligan and Tylus, p. 191. Milligan cites Michael Murrin, *History and Warfare in Renaissance Epic* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1994), p. 81 n. 282.

⁶⁰³ Milligan, 'Proving Masculinity', in *The Poetics of Masculinity*, ed. by Milligan and Tylus, p. 185.

⁶⁰⁴ See Hale, pp. 179-208.

⁶⁰⁵ C.P. Brand, *Ludovico Ariosto. A preface to the 'Orlando Furioso'* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1974), pp. 84-112.

⁶⁰⁶ *Orlando Furioso*, XXXIX, ll. 560-568 (stanza 71).

The waste and pain of war seem to rouse particular anger in the poet, to the extent that it impinges upon unqualified praise of his patrons.⁶⁰⁷

Overall, Terracina's political and military position is certainly not pacifist, but she strongly argues for war on what she considers acceptable terms, the 'right' war.⁶⁰⁸ This would take place far from Italy with a minimum of soldierly brutality, and a maximum of possible clemency. It would be a holy war, a union of Christians against an infidel Other, but in the end there is little sense of solidity to the last part of this vision. While there can be no doubt of the poet's revulsion for the horrors of war which ravage not just young men, but also women, children and the elderly, the idea of warfare against the far-off Other is more a noble ideal than a true suggestion, more a way to ensure peace at home between Christian nations and halt the occasional, admittedly distressing, incursion of enemy troops.

This balanced and rational attitude towards warfare feeds effectively into Terracina's broader practice and her self-creation as a poet. By engaging with established genres and themes, she places herself within a stream of authorised discourse which can help lead her to the poetic recognition she desires. In addition, the fact that this subject matter carries particular personal potency both for the poet and her local readership helps to strengthen the ties which bind them, as well as showing Terracina engaging with issues of pressing national importance. By using her source material in Ariosto as such a fruitful point of departure, she also shows her ability to adapt and develop upon some of the most renowned poetry of her day. As the following section on

⁶⁰⁷ Durling, *The Figure*, p. 146.

⁶⁰⁸ This differs slightly from Wainwright's characterisation of Terracina as not being as warmongering as Ariosto and Isabella Cervoni, but is an inevitable conclusion when considering the whole body of Terracina's poetry (Wainwright, 'A Simple Virgin', p. 18, n. 69).

Terracina's spiritual lyric will also show, she is adept at combining her own preoccupations with established genres to develop her particular and distinctive image.

V. Religious Lyric

Laura Terracina, as we have seen, created an enviable career for herself composing encomiastic lyric poetry, but at the end of her life she nonetheless turned to the popular form of *rime spirituali*. Her manuscript *Nono libro* styles itself as an explicitly spiritual collection, in contrast to the dominant secular tenor of her preceding collections. In so doing, Terracina was contributing to one of the most important genres in Italian literature in the later sixteenth century. Within the folios of her manuscript, however, we see tension between Terracina's religious and worldly leanings being played out in verse and the paratexts which surround the poetry.

The Cinquecento was the era of Petrarchism in Italy, but its form was not static, and nor was it a linguistic, formal and thematic straitjacket, as it has been accused of being.⁶⁰⁹ It was instead dynamic and diverse, a genre which tested the limits of poets by forcing them to negotiate a fruitful tension between tradition and innovation.⁶¹⁰ In particular, such a recognisable and popular form allowed those who had traditionally existed on the margins of literary discourse – women, the middle classes – to carve out their own niche. This occurred against the backdrop of growing religious turmoil, with the split in the Catholic Church formalised by the Council of Trent in the 1550s, and an increasingly authoritarian ecclesiastical climate in Italy in the second half of the Cinquecento.

⁶⁰⁹ Mostly famously in Arturo Graf, 'Petrarchismo ed antipetrarchismo', in *Attraverso il Cinquecento* (Turin: E. Loescher, 1916), p. 3.

⁶¹⁰ In the words of Alistair Fowler: 'Rightly understood, [genre] is so far from being a mere curb on expression that it makes the expressiveness of literary works possible' (*Kinds of Literature. An Introduction to the Theory of Genres and Modes* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982)).

Rime spirituali developed as a genre during the first half of the sixteenth century, although it was only in the subsequent fifty years that the popularity of this form soared as 'in many ways the most vibrant and energized lyric subtradition of the period'.⁶¹¹ Indeed, the idea that celebration and praise of God was the true vocation of poetry was a pillar of Counter-Reformation poetics.⁶¹² Single-author collections and anthologies were published across the Italian peninsula by both men and women, combining literary pleasure with spiritual orthodoxy.⁶¹³ Poetic subgenres such as *contrafacta*, in which secular poems are rewritten literally and metaphorically in a spiritual vein using the rhymes of the original,⁶¹⁴ are a potent example of the cultural force of this trend. When she rewrote the *Orlando Furioso*, Terracina was not alone in her reworking of popular but secular texts in a moralising or overtly religious vein: a *Primo canto dell'Ariosto. Tradotto in rime spirituali*,⁶¹⁵ published in Naples in 1593, is one example that demonstrates that she was part of a broader trend towards religious conservatism. Replacing the traditional amorous longing for a beloved with an infinitely more virtuous longing for God, the moral impeccability of the genre meant that it offered women a 'safe' theme for poetry.⁶¹⁶ Indeed, it was a woman, Vittoria Colonna (c.1490-1547), who was one of the first to use and popularise religious lyric. Although she began by writing Petrarchan poetry in praise of her absent husband, Fernando d'Avalos, his premature death from wounds sustained in battle forced her

⁶¹¹ Cox, *The Prodigious Muse*, p. 52.

⁶¹² Cox, *Lyric Poetry*, p. 196.

⁶¹³ For studies of a range of works, see *Rime sacre del Petrarca al Tasso*, ed. by Maria Luisa Doglio and Carlo Delcorno (Bologna: Società editrice il Mulino, 2005); Quondam, *Il naso*, pp. 283-89.

⁶¹⁴ Cox, *Lyric Poetry*, p. 226.

⁶¹⁵ *Primo canto dell'Ariosto. Tradotto in rime spirituali* (Naples: Gio. Iacomo Carlino and Antonio Pace, 1593).

⁶¹⁶ For more on women and spiritual poetry in the later sixteenth century, see Cox, *The Prodigious Muse*, pp. 55-76.

to compose poetry in his memory instead. Little by little, her unobtainable and glorious 'Sole' starts to represent both her deceased husband and Christ at once. Over time, the shift became definitive: Colonna's poetry lost its worldly nature and became religious to its core, reflecting the poet's passionate beliefs. Of course, the progression was not always as smooth as such a schema suggests, and the way in which Colonna's works were published did much to create a definite sense of progression following the model of Petrarch's original *canzoniere*.⁶¹⁷

The traditional narrative runs that Colonna did not desire to see her work in print, chary of the social, moral and literary stigma of the medium,⁶¹⁸ preferring to circulate her poetry within the confines of erudite Neapolitan society, or else in hand-prepared manuscripts for a few chosen recipients. More recent scholarship has, however, suggested that in fact she deliberately left the way open to print publication of her works.⁶¹⁹ In an age in which copyright was a distant concept, publishers soon realised the potential popularity of Colonna's works with or without her willing support. The *Rime de la divina Vittoria Colonna* was published in Parma in 1538,⁶²⁰ and the *Rime*

⁶¹⁷ Abigail Brundin, 'Vittoria Colonna and the poetry of reform', *Italian Studies* 57 (2002), 61-74 (p. 62). For more on Colonna's spiritual poetry, see Abigail Brundin, *Vittoria Colonna and the Spiritual Poetics of the Italian Reformation* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 2008) and Crivelli, 'The Print Tradition', in *A Companion to Vittoria Colonna*, ed. by Brundin, Crivelli and Sapegno, pp. 100-105, 121-24.

⁶¹⁸ Richardson, *Manuscript Culture*, pp. 12, 17.

⁶¹⁹ Crivelli, 'The Print Tradition', in *A Companion to Vittoria Colonna*, ed. by Brundin, Crivelli and Sapegno, pp. 98-100.

⁶²⁰ *Rime de la divina Vittoria Colonna* (Parma: Antonio Viotti, 1538). Colonna's work first appeared in print in 1535 in an Appendix to the second edition of Pietro Bembo's *Rime* (Crivelli, 'The Print Tradition', in *A Companion to Vittoria Colonna*, ed. by Brundin, Crivelli and Sapegno, p. 1.)

spirituali della signora Vittoria Colonna in Venice in 1546.⁶²¹ Numerous other editions, which combine secular with spiritual lyric, also appeared (though claims of previously unpublished poems were often exaggerated, or falsehoods).⁶²²

With Vittoria Colonna as such a powerful model, and a cultural climate which linked women's volubility – including in literary form – with promiscuity, it is unsurprising that other women turned to religious lyric poetry too, as an acceptable genre. Laura Battiferra, Lucrezia Marinella, Lorenza Strozzi, Francesca Turina, Chiara Matraini and Semidea Poggia are among the women who experimented with religious verse in different forms, thematic priorities, and even languages, in the second half of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.⁶²³

In this light, it is perhaps surprising that, despite the genre having grown in popularity for years, Terracina had not explicitly engaged with it before the 1570s. Although previous collections at times display an overtly spiritual tenor – the *Settime rime*, for example, presents God as a vital font of strength during widowhood – none explicitly

⁶²¹ *Rime spirituali della signora Vittoria Colonna* (Venice: Vincenzo Valgrisi, 1546).

⁶²² For example, the *Rime della diva Vettoria Colonna de Pescara inclita marchesana novamente aggiuntovi 24 soneti spirituali, e le sue stanze, e uno triumpho de la croce di Christo non più stampato con la sua tavola* (Venice: Comin de Trino, ad istantia di Nicolo d'Aristotile, detto Zoppino, 1542). See Crivelli, 'The Print Tradition', pp. 89-110.

⁶²³ Cox, *The Prodigious Muse*, pp. 55-6. This was not the only outlet for female creativity however. Specifically in the period 1550-1600, Brundin notes that 'surprisingly few [women] seem to have turned their hand to collections of *rime spirituali*', instead turning to a broader range of genres (*Vittoria Colonna*, p. 183).

market themselves as 'rime spirituali'.⁶²⁴ Terracina's *Nono libro* is a manuscript dated 1577, and was never published, plausibly because Terracina died before being able to take the work to press. Its particular interest lies in the tension at its heart: although labelled 'rime spirituali', the collection is unable to resist the lure of worldly considerations and the familiar ground of encomiastic poetry. The hugely successful Terracina, who appears to have competently overseen her own literary career which spanned a variety of genres, seems less assured in a genre which afforded so much to other women writers.

Laura Battiferra's work is a particularly useful point of comparison in this case. Not only do we know she exchanged poetry with Terracina,⁶²⁵ but her *rime spirituali* were left in a state comparable to Terracina's.⁶²⁶ Her work remained in manuscript after her death in 1589, but was seemingly prepared for publication by her husband Bartolomeo Ammanati. The second part of the collection comprises spiritual verse, some of which had been previously published, but of which over 50 poems had not been, and includes a short piece of a religious epic written in *ottava rima*. Cox dates the poetry to some time in the 1580s – few of the sonnets can be dated with accuracy – although some commemorate specific events such as the death of Pope Gregory XIII in 1585. Like Terracina, Battiferra had enjoyed popularity as a female author of secular lyric, and turned to a more religious mode during the later years of her life. The increasingly orthodox religious climate of the 1570s and 1580s intensified Battiferra's religious sentiments, allowing her to produce work which conformed to post-Tridentine

⁶²⁴ The *Discorsco* is a secular work, but is nonetheless a product of its age and shows a cautious awareness of acceptable religious thought and belief, even as Terracina adopts a more critical stance towards the papacy when she feels it appropriate.

⁶²⁵ Laura Battiferra, *Laura Battiferra*, pp. 304-06.

⁶²⁶ Battiferra's manuscript is held in the Biblioteca Casanatense in Rome; see Cox, *The Prodigious Muse*, pp. 59-60.

aesthetic models.⁶²⁷ However, neither she or Terracina made an entirely 'clean break' or conversion but instead, as one might expect, adapted the poetry with which they were more familiar to their new interests and priorities, experimenting with a spiritualised Petrarchism.

Evidently, religious lyric poetry was a genre with which women were relatively comfortable and, perhaps more importantly for verse circulation, men were comfortable with women expressing themselves through spiritual lyric verse. However, despite the popularity of *rime spirituali* as a genre for women, Terracina had shown relatively little interest in it before the *Nono libro*.⁶²⁸ Her greatest successes, her *Rime* and *Discorso*, were largely secular works which enjoyed a large readership, chiming as they did with fashions for encomiastic and chivalric poetry. On occasion the poet does lament the increasing moral bankruptcy of the world around her, but her tone remains moralising rather than spiritual.

It is in the 'pirated' *Seste rime 1* that the most important example of Terracina's previous engagement with spiritual lyric can be found. A short section of eleven sonnets is explicitly spiritual,⁶²⁹ the poetry bearing rubrics such as 'A Cristo salvator nostro' and 'A la Vergine benedetta'. As has been discussed above, Terracina was furious at the addition of another poet's work to the *Seste rime 1* under her name, and as these sonnets are not found in the *Seste rime 2* (the 'authorised' edition) it might be reasonable to deduce that they were inserted by a canny publisher who realised that public taste was moving in that direction. However, this is not the case, as is revealed

⁶²⁷ Battiferra, *Laura Battiferra*, pp. 4, 9. On Battiferra's religious verse, see also Brundin, *Vittoria Colonna*, pp. 182-89.

⁶²⁸ For an overview of the religious lyric penned by women in the Cinquecento, see the 'Religious Verse' section of Cox, *Lyric Poetry*, pp. 187-266.

⁶²⁹ *Seste rime 1*, pp. 30-9.

by the placing of these sonnets, lightly edited and in a similar order, in the *Nono libro*.⁶³⁰ The brief appearance of spiritual lyric, while not separately labelled as such, earlier in her career, helps us to understand better Terracina's career trajectory and choices. Firstly, she was experimenting with spiritual themes and poetry while maintaining her primary focus on occasional poetry far earlier than a cursory scan of her works would suggest. Secondly, she returned to and renewed her poetry, editing and polishing it for use in later collections. This implies ongoing poetic growth, but also a pragmatic understanding of her role as a publishing author, constantly preparing new works for press as well as recycling older poems.

On occasion, other works of hers show some engagement with spiritual themes, particularly the *Settime rime* of 1561. This slim volume was written in honour of the 'vedove titolate e non titolate' of Naples, and in many of the poems in this book, Terracina tells the widow to turn to God for spiritual succour and comforts her with the thought of eternal life. However, the widespread use of mythological imagery, as well as the clear concern for day-to-day life, stop the collection from straying into overtly spiritualised territory.

Terracina's penultimate work, and last published work, was the secular *Seconda parte*, printed a whole decade before the date on the Florence manuscript. Both Laura Battiferra and Chiara Matraini had similar trajectories, with a lengthy break in

⁶³⁰ First lines as in the *Nono libro*: 'Signore già il tuo nemico horrendo e fiero'; 'Essendo ti Maria nostra advocata'; 'Hoggi è quel santo giorno et eccellente'; 'Io sento signor mio che s'apparecchia'; 'Fattor del mondo et creator del tutto'; 'Quel santo, giusto, immacolato Agnello'; 'Se da proprio voler, non d'altra aita'; 'Quando la tromba del vivente Dio'; 'L'immenso amor del grande et giusto Dio'; 'Signor, ben so che per amore interno'; 'Questa pianta gentil, quest'alte pome' (*Nono libro*, MS Palatino 229, fols 43^v-47^v).

publication before publishing work of increased spiritual engagement.⁶³¹ Although Terracina does once more experiment with the *Orlando Furioso*, not a notably spiritual work, she adds elements which point to a greater religiosity, such as opening the work with a canto addressed to Pope Pius V. Later in the *Seconda parte*, she deliberately places a moral and religious slant on the topics which she discusses. In a canto addressed *agli uomini peccatori* she takes an admonitory, warning tone:

Il peccato, Signor, è di tal sorte,
E di tanta importanza e di tal peso,
Che quando credi haver pe' i crin la sorte
All'hor altro t'ha intorno il laccio teso,
Per ch'il peccato il peccator a morte
Conduce, per haver l'alto Dio offeso,
Et se non a la morte, esso empio e rio
Seguita il danno, e il ben pone in oblio.⁶³²

Although such poetry would not fall within the bounds of what is typically understood as 'rime spirituali', we can see common concerns with the genre, and understand how it might develop into a 'pure' form of spiritual lyric.

The worldly *rime spirituali* of Laura Terracina

It is in the *Nono libro* that Terracina tries to bring her spiritual lyric to life. In so doing, as we have seen, she was participating in a genre which had attracted a number of female poets from the 1540s and would continue to do so well into the seventeenth

⁶³¹ Battiferra, *Laura Battiferra*, p. 3; Cox, *The Prodigious Muse*, pp. 214-15.

⁶³² *Seconda parte*, VI, ll.1-8.

century.⁶³³ The labelling of the ‘*rime spirituali*’ as such within the collection makes clear that this was an active choice to position the poetry within this tradition, while the spiritual tenor of the dedication points to the importance accorded to spiritual verse within the collection as a whole. In addition, we can deduce that the decision to label the collection as ‘spiritual’ was authorial from its dedication. This dedication is likely autograph: the Biblioteca Nazionale record for the manuscript lists the first section of the manuscript as such, which Montella also states.⁶³⁴ It describes the poet’s intent to turn away from worldly subject matter, ‘le cose amorevoli, et [...] le cose d’humani discorsi’.⁶³⁵ Even if the dedication is not actually autograph, it makes clear, given that it is signed with Terracina’s name, that the author conceived of the collection as spiritual, with accompanying praise for men of the Church.

Terracina’s *Nono libro* is a manuscript written in two very different hands, and whose poetry falls into a number of genres. For ease of discussion, the work is here divided into three major sections: a first section of encomiastic poetry to cardinals and churchmen; a second section labelled within the manuscript as *rime spirituali*; and a third section of commemorative and occasional lyric.

Section	Hand	Folio numbers
1. Occasional lyric to churchmen	Hand 1 (less professional handwriting – that of Terracina?)	4 ^r – 34 ^v
2. <i>Rime spirituali</i>	Hand 2 (professional handwriting)	35 ^r – 53 ^v

⁶³³ From Vittoria Colonna through to poets such as Francesca Turina Bufalina, whose *Rime spirituali sopra i misteri del Santissimo Rosario* were published in 1595 (Rome: Gigliotti) and *Rime* in 1627 and 1628 (Città di Castello: Molinelli). See Cox, *The Prodigious Muse*, pp. 51-86.

⁶³⁴ Montella, p. 89.

⁶³⁵ *Nono libro*, MS Palatino 229, fol. 3^r.

3. Commemorative and occasional lyric	Hand 2 (professional handwriting)	54 ^r – 115 ^v
---------------------------------------	-----------------------------------	------------------------------------

The question of handwriting is challenging, but could also help us to understand the purpose of this manuscript. The first section of the work, of occasional lyric to churchmen, is in a relatively unformed hand, seemingly Terracina's own (hand 1); the second and third sections are in a much more professional hand (hand 2). Annotations by hand 1 on sections two and three lend credence to the hypothesis that the poet, or someone who felt closely involved with Terracina's work, commissioned a professional scribe to prepare the second and third sections, to which they then made corrections and added a first quire with title, dedication and additional sonnets, to make up a complete manuscript ready for publication.⁶³⁶ The second section of the work, in the professional hand 2, consists of the *rime spirituali* heart of the collection. The third section of the work, still in hand 2, consists of encomiastic and occasional poetry, more typical of Terracina's output; many of the poems had been previously published, or commemorated events and deaths from years previously.

The dominant form of the collection is the sonnet, which had occupied a much lesser position in earlier works. Terracina likely adopted the sonnet as the established form for spiritual lyric in preference to *ottava rima* which favours political themes. The collection's typically lengthy title establishes it as a work which is primarily intended to have a spiritual function:

Sonetti al sommo Pontefice Gregorio Decimoterzo, et con sua santità tutti li cardinali. Rime spirituali morte di principi, et di signori titolati et non titolati, con altri sonetti a particolari gentil'homini et donne. Conposti per la signora Laura Terracina.

⁶³⁶ See, for instance, *Nono libro*, MS Palatino 229, fol. 111^v.

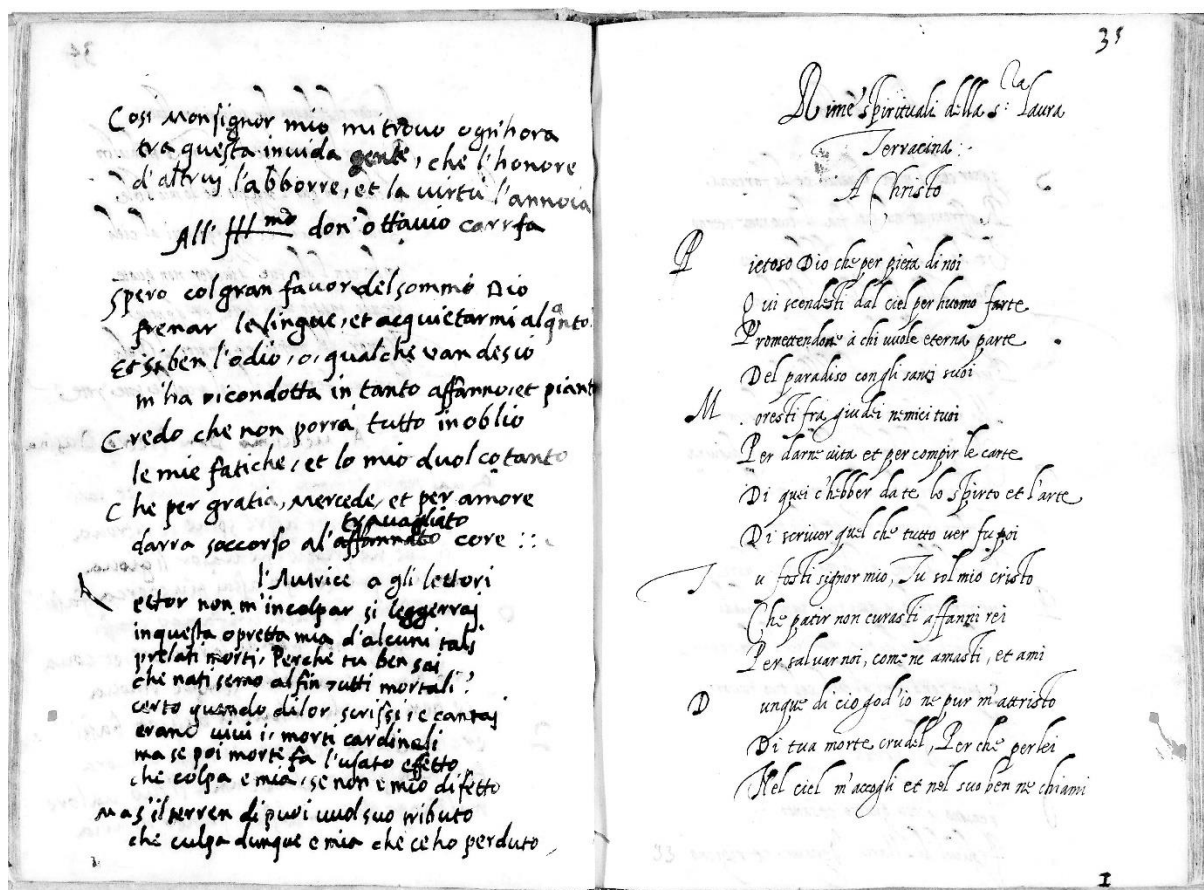
The dedication to the work, to Cardinal Don Ferrante de' Medici, emphasises this aspect of the text:

Ho fatto quel che farebe uno arbero un tempo superbo per molti rami che dal tempo ridotto in un solo tutta la sua virtù in quell'un diffonde. Imperò che lasciando e delle cose amorevoli et delle cose d'humani discorsi, in una sola materia mi sono ristretta, et in lodare li Illustrissimi et gli Reverendissimi incluse le virtù cardinali.⁶³⁸

The body of poetry, however, in its three sections does not solely reflect this stated spiritual outlook. Although the sonnets which begin the work are addressed to men of the Church, their encomiastic nature and tone render them far more worldly than spiritual. While the central section of *rime spirituali* is similar in nature to contemporary work by other poets under that title, the final section of the book comes firmly back down to human, social concerns. The work is also divided by the fact it is written in two hands, as we have seen. The handwriting of the first section is less developed, and certainly not that of a professional, although by the standards of the day it is not unusually poor – indeed, it is relatively legible.

⁶³⁷ *Nono libro*, MS Palatino 229, fol. 1^r.

⁶³⁸ *Nono libro*, MS Palatino 229, fol. 3^r.



Nono libro, MS Palatino 229, fols 34^v-35^r. Image reproduced with permission.

The somewhat patchwork nature of the *Nono libro* is shown not only by the two scribal hands and various genres of poetry it contains, but also by apparent re-appropriation of earlier work by Terracina. For instance, the sonnet 'Non poteva capir mai nel mio ingegno'⁶³⁹ is addressed to Paul IV, who had died in 1559, almost two decades before the date on this manuscript, and had since been succeeded by three popes. The choice to include such an 'outdated' poem seems odd, but is best explained by the hypothesis that Terracina was working up a manuscript for publication, and bulking out her new work with unpublished poetry from earlier years and spiritual verse which had been published without her permission in the *Seste rime* 1.

⁶³⁹ *Nono libro*, MS Palatino 229, fols 77r-77v.

The section of *rime spirituali* itself falls into two clear parts. It begins with 44 sonnets, six *ottave* (one *caudata*), one *capitolo* and one 11-line poem, all addressed to Christ or the Virgin, or to mark events such as the Nativity or Good Friday.⁶⁴⁰ The second part consists of elegiac poetry, starting with a sonnet '[n]ella morte dell'invittissimo Carlo Quinto Imperatore'⁶⁴¹ and continuing with sonnets mourning the death of major political figures such as Mary I of England (married to King Philip of Spain)⁶⁴² and Henri II of France.⁶⁴³

Terracina's first *rima spirituale* is notably different from the work of, say, Vittoria Colonna:

A Christo

Pietoso Dio che per pietà di noi
 Qui scendesti dal ciel per huomo farte
 Promettendone a chi vuole eterna parte
 Del paradiso con gli santi suoi,
 Moresti fra giù dei nemici tuoi
 Per darne vita et per compir le carte
 Di quei c'hebbber date lo spirto et l'arte
 Di scriver quel che tutto ver fu poi.

Tu fosti signor mio, Tu sol mio cristo,
 Che patir non curasti affanni rei
 Per salvar noi, come ne amasti et ami.

⁶⁴⁰ Meditations of Good Friday were an established subgenre of spiritual lyric (Cox, *Lyric Poetry*, p. 212).

⁶⁴¹ *Nono libro*, MS Palatino 229, fol. 54^r.

⁶⁴² *Nono libro*, MS Palatino 229, fol. 56^v.

⁶⁴³ *Nono libro*, MS Palatino, fols 57^r-57^v.

Dunque di ciò god'io né pur m'attristo
Di tua morte crudel, per che per lei
Nel ciel m'accogli et nel suo ben ne chiami.⁶⁴⁴

Choosing a 'narrative' sonnet style rather than the intensely personal religious experience found in Colonna's famous spiritual poem, 'Poi che 'l mio casto amor gran tempo tenne',⁶⁴⁵ Terracina assumes a collective voice in the sonnet's octet. This chorus-like effect is enhanced by the alliterative polyptoton of the first line. Moving into the sextet, Terracina uses a much more personal voice to express spiritual anguish ('mio... mio') but swiftly returns to the choral mode in line 11. The final tercet once again adopts the first personal singular voice, but the voice here seems much calmer, as it recalls the peace brought about by spiritual orthodoxy, and belief in eternal life.

However, the echoes and resonances of Colonna's imagery – which had set the standard for spiritual lyric in Italy – are inescapable in Terracina's work. Compare, for instance, Terracina's vivid depiction of Christ on the cross:

A Christo

Ti veggio signor mio su l'alta croce
Col capo basso et inchinato a terra.
Per accettarne et per condur sotterra
Il tuo crudel nemico, empio, et feroce,
L'un braccio et l'altro poi presto et veloce
Stendesti a fin che con ei si disserra,

⁶⁴⁴ *Nono libro*, MS Palatino 229, fol. 35^r.

⁶⁴⁵ It is important to recall that Colonna's work was edited by a third party, and that she did not decide the order in which poems appeared in printed collections. That said, clear differences are perceivable between her work, and that of Terracina.

Et si restringa ogn'un a mover Guerra

Al nemico infernal che tanto nuoce.

Veggio ancor giunti li tuoi pedi santi

Di chiodi stretti et annodati forte,

Per aspettar chi brama et vole in cielo.

Dunque signor da miei travagli tanti

Mi cava fuor ti prego acciò che morte

Non copra gli occhi miei d'eterno velo.⁶⁴⁶

With Colonna's strikingly similar sonnet on the same theme:

Veggio in croce il mio Dio nudo e disteso

Coi piedi e man chiodate a il destro lato

Aperto e il capo sol di spine ornato,

E da vil gente d'ogni parte offeso,

Avendo su le spalle il grave peso

De le colpe del mondo; e in tale stato

La morte e l'avversario stuolo irato

Vincer solo col cor d'amore acceso.

Pazienza, umiltà, vero ubidire

Con l'altre alme virtuti eran le stelle

D'intorno al sol de la sua caritade,

Onde ne l'aspra pugna e questa e quelle

Fecer più Chiara, dopo il bel morire,

La gloria de l'eterna sua bontade.⁶⁴⁷

⁶⁴⁶ *Nono libro*, MS Palatino 229, fol. 38^r.

⁶⁴⁷ Vittoria Colonna, *Sonnets for Michelangelo*, pp. 116, 118.

Both women present their subject matter highly visually, surveying one by one the parts of Christ's body nailed to the Cross, overcoming his enemies through love. Such an immersive and vivid retelling of an emotive event like the Passion became a fundamental part of general spiritual practice in this period, thanks to the influence of various techniques, including empathetic meditation, which were endorsed by authoritative texts like Ignatius Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises*.⁶⁴⁸ Thus, Terracina is placing herself within an established tradition which, unusually, allowed women to express a certain degree of physicality within the constraints of orthodoxy.

Perhaps the female lyric poet of the Italian peninsula whose religious work bears the best comparison to that of Terracina is once again her contemporary and correspondent Laura Battiferra. As noted previously, both Terracina and Battiferra were at the heart of active intellectual circles, praised and appreciated by their male peers. Battiferra published *Il primo libro delle opere toscane* (1560) and *I sette salmi penitentiali del santissimo profeta David* (1564), but like Terracina also left a manuscript unpublished at the time of her death. Kirkham describes it as '[c]onceived as a compendium of her life's work', entitled *Rime* and containing the entirety of her first two books and all she had written after, which was of a spiritual nature.⁶⁴⁹ The *Rime* testify to Battiferra's growing religious sentiment in the 1570s and 1580s. Like Terracina's 1577 manuscript – and other works of the time – it is divided into spiritual and secular sections.⁶⁵⁰ However, it is notable that we have external indicators of Battiferra's increasing religious sentiment, which are lacking in Terracina's case. Laura Battiferra and her husband, the renowned sculptor Bartolomeo degli Ammannati,

⁶⁴⁸ Cox, *Lyric Poetry*, p. 216.

⁶⁴⁹ Battiferra, *Laura Battiferra*, p. 3; Cox, *The Prodigious Muse*, p. 59. The manuscript is now held in the Biblioteca Casanatense in Rome: Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, MS 3229 [Guidi RB 1] (Battiferra, *Laura Battiferra*, p. 359).

⁶⁵⁰ Cox, *The Prodigious Muse*, pp. 35, 59-60.

both became generous patrons of the Jesuits during the time Battiferra was compiling and composing her *Rime*.⁶⁵¹ In Terracina's case, we do not have the external evidence to support the suggestion that her religious turn was entirely genuine and heartfelt. That is not to imply that it was not, it is simply important to note that *rime spirituali* were a genre growing in importance in the 1570s, and per se should not be taken as proof of a poet's deep religiosity. Nonetheless, the similarities in the social station, literary engagement and careers of Battiferra and Terracina make them a fruitful pair to highlight some similarities of style.

Both women begin their overtly spiritual collections of lyric in a self-conscious, even ostentatiously devout, fashion. In the dedication to the *Nono libro* manuscript, Terracina announces that rather than writing to celebrate the achievements of many, she will focus in this collection of 'rime spirituali' on 'lasciando e delle cose amorevoli e delle cose d'humani discorsi' in order to 'lodare li Illustrissimi, e gli Reverendissimi, includo le virtù cardinali, e a vostra Illustrissima Signoria, già cardinale'.⁶⁵² In the first of her 'sonetti spirituali', Battiferra states:

Ecco Signore, e n'è ben tempo omai,
ch'a te rivolgo il mio cangiato stile.⁶⁵³

There is clearly an impetus on the part of both women to mark their change of lyric direction overtly, rather than allowing it to be perceived in time by the reader.⁶⁵⁴ This

⁶⁵¹ Battiferra, *Laura Battiferra*, p. 4.

⁶⁵² *Nono libro*, MS Palatino 229, fol. 3^r.

⁶⁵³ Battiferra, *I sette salmi penitenziali di David con alcuni sonetti spirituali*, ed. by Enrico Maria Guidi (Urbino: Accademia Raffaello, Collana di Studi e Testi, 2005), p. 109.

⁶⁵⁴ Vittoria Colonna's spiritual 'conversion' is also flagged in the proemial sonnet to her *Rime spirituali* 'Poi che 'l mio casto amor gran tempo tenne' (Venice: Vincenzo Valgrisi, 1546).

is a trope found in poetry by men as well as by women, although in the case of male authors it can be coupled to a definitive renunciation of an amorous relationship, as in Berardino Rota's 'O luce del gran padre, o vita, o via',⁶⁵⁵ and indeed this form of the trope can be traced back to the final *canzone* of Petrarch's *Rerum vulgarium fragmenta*.⁶⁵⁶ In the case of Terracina and other female poets of her time, the renunciation is of worldly considerations in general, in favour of a loving and merciful God. It is also made clear, however, that the will of each woman alone will not be sufficient to support them on their new path, both poetic and spiritual. We might compare the sentiments expressed in Terracina's 'Tu vedi signor mio quanto atta sono':

Tu vedi signor mio quanto atta sono,
Anzi inchinata al mal, più assai ch'al bene,
Et che 'l nemico tuo mi stringe et tiene
Tal ch'io non faccio alcun'effetto buono [...]

Festi me senza me, tu sommo Dio
Né salvar mi potrei pur ch'io non voglia,
Né darmi il paradiso né l'inferno.⁶⁵⁷

With Battiferra's 'Quando fia, Signor mio, che sciolta e sgombra':

Sollevami, Signor, porgimi aiuto,
che senza te non ch'innalzarmi al Cielo,

⁶⁵⁵ Rota, *Rime*, pp. 545-46 (sonnet number CCXIV).

⁶⁵⁶ 'Vergine bella, che di sol vestita', 366, *Petrarch's Lyric Poems. The Rime Sparse and Other Lyrics*, trans. and ed. by Robert M. Durling (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 1976), pp. 575-83.

⁶⁵⁷ *Nono libro*, MS Palatino 229, fols 43^r-43^v.

ma poter desiarlo ancor m'è tolto.⁶⁵⁸

Both implore divine aid in following their new devout path.⁶⁵⁹ This stands in contrast to, for example, the work of Vittoria Colonna, who focuses on the importance of grace over effort or what one has 'earned':

Che giunga a l'infinito opra mortale
vostro dono è, però che in un momento
la può far degna.⁶⁶⁰

Such an emphasis reflects the influence of reformist thought on Colonna's beliefs and poetry. As justification by faith became spiritually dubious, the reliance on grace did so too. Terracina and Battiferra explicitly depend on God's aid too, but with less notion of grace. In addition, these later poets place greater emphasis on their own labour contributing to their salvation, that is, believe in grace coupled with good works as the means to eternal life.

One difference which immediately strikes the reader upon comparing the work of Terracina and Battiferra is the difference in rubrication: each of Terracina's poems is carefully labelled with its addressee ('A Dio', 'A Christo', 'A Maria Vergine' etc.),⁶⁶¹ while one is left to understand the precise addressee of Battiferra's poetry from its content. In the context of Terracina's oeuvre, in which the vast majority of her work is

⁶⁵⁸ Battiferra, *I sette salmi*, p. 111.

⁶⁵⁹ See also Gaspara Stampa's 'Mesta e pentita de' miei gravi errori' (Gaspara Stampa, *Rime di Madonna Gaspara Stampa* (Venice: Plinio Pietrasanta, 1554)).

⁶⁶⁰ 'Spiego ver voi, Signor, indarno l'ale', in Cox, *Lyric Poetry*, p. 193.

⁶⁶¹ In addition, Cox suggests that Marian poetry had a particular 'authorising' function for female poets, as a show of women's exemplary capacity for faith (*The Prodigious Muse*, p. 66).

directed to a named individual, it seems fair to see the rubric as an authorial choice, rather than, for example, having been added by an editor or scribe. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that virtually all the poems in the *Nono libro* manuscript, whether in hand 1 or hand 2, bear a rubric. The majority of Terracina's religious poetry also uses the second person singular to address the holy figure directly, as does Battiferra. While the use of the second person voice increases the potent intimacy of the poetry, the rubric helps to focus the mind of the reader and prepare them for the coming verse.

However, Terracina's *Nono libro* is eventually unable to shake off all earthly hierarchies as Battiferra seems to. Although all may be equal in the eyes of God, the *Nono libro* manuscript clearly reflects the fact that not all are equal on earth. Dedicated to don Ferrante, Cardinal de' Medici, the internal order of the work reflects Church hierarchies. Opening with a sonnet to Cardinal de' Medici, Terracina swiftly follows it with a run of sonnets dedicated to Gregory XIII (pope 1572-1585) then further cardinals, although a poem to a former pope, Paul IV (1555-1559), is also included.

The earthly nature of the collection is reinforced by its reflection of current events: it includes poetry written in the aftermath of a flood that struck Naples, shortly after an attack by Turkish soldiers, and to commemorate the death of Pietro di Toledo and an illness of Terracina's husband Polidoro. The gamut of dedicatees also widens to include women such as Vittoria Colonna [di Toledo].⁶⁶² Even when addressing men of the cloth, Terracina does not always adopt the spiritual attitude that might be expected. In a sonnet 'Al reverendissimo e illustrissimo Cardinal di Chiesa', for example, Terracina remains firmly focused upon her own life and preoccupations:

⁶⁶² The focus on the beauty of the dedicatee and the placement of the poem amongst other works which seem approximately contemporary makes it probable that this is Vittoria Colonna di Toledo, niece of the poet Vittoria Colonna.

Nacqui, Monsignor mio, di pover seme,
Come ognun sa, ne la più dolce e vaga
Città del mondo, altiera, invitta e saga,
Contra del cui valor Marte ni teme.

Ma le rote del mondo empie e estreme,
Ch'hor questo attrista e hor quell'altro appaga,
M'han posto al cor sì velenosa piaga
Ch'io son fuor quasi d'ogni amara speme.

Son vissa, Monsignor, e viv'io ancora
Con la perina, con l'aco e con la Rocca,
Sperando di scacciar mie pene fuora,
Ma l'invidia crudel ch'a tanti tocca
E tanti saggi morde e accora,
L'alto disegno al più bel tempo stocca.⁶⁶³

Another useful comparison might be drawn between the poetry of Terracina and her contemporary Chiara Matraini, both of whom work to reconcile earthly and religious preoccupations in their lyric.⁶⁶⁴ Matraini, like Colonna before her,⁶⁶⁵ adopts the

⁶⁶³ *Nono libro*, MS Palatino 229, fols 15^v-16^r.

⁶⁶⁴ For more on Chiara Matraini and her literary work, see Chiara Matraini, *Rime e lettere*, ed. by Giovanna Rabitti (Bologna: Commissione per i testi di lingua, 1989); Rinaldina Russell, 'Chiara Matraini nella tradizione lirica femminile', *Forum Italicum*, 34 (2000), 415-27; Daniela Marcheschi, *Chiara Matraini: poetessa lucchese e la letteratura delle donne nei nuovi fermenti religiosi del '500* (Lucca: M. Pacini Fazzi, 2015); Chiara Matraini, *Le opere in prose e altre poesie*, ed. by Anna Mario (Perugia: Aguaplano, 2017).

⁶⁶⁵ See Matraini, *Selected Poetry and Prose*, pp. 24-29, for more on Colonna's influence.

imagery of Christ as 'Sole' and sadly, in Petrarchan idiom, laments her languishing on earth far from the warmth of God:

Lassa, non so qual nube il mio bel Sole
m'asconda e vieti il suo dolce ritorno,
per cui sì chiaro e lieto ogni mio giorno
solea mostrarsi più ch'altro non suole.⁶⁶⁶

Terracina's poetry adopts a more exhortative tone than Matraini's, urging Christ's intervention on earth, and is more tightly focused on God; many of Matraini's *rime* are as much concerned with her feelings for Bartolomeo Graziani and her grief at his death as they are with God. While Matraini's original 1555 *Rime e prose* contains 99 compositions, the 1595 edition includes only 77, of which a mere 24 can be found in the 1555 text. The remaining poems making up the 1595 volume are chosen from Matraini's later, less amorous and more spiritual verse, indicative of a later spiritual turn comparable to that of Terracina.⁶⁶⁷ Compare, for instance, the opening quatrains of the second poem of Terracina's *rime spirituali*:

Signor che'l mare, il vento et la fortuna
Raffreni, et nel ciel fia il tuo nome eterno
Et da te nasce poi quel bel governo
Dele stele, del sole et dela luna,
Ti prego mille volte et non pur una,
Pietoso signor mio, che dall'inferno
Mi cavi fuori poscia ch'io discerno

⁶⁶⁶ Matraini, *Selected Poetry and Prose*, p. 162 (from 1597 *Lettere di Madonna Chiara Matraini gentildonna lucchese con la prima e seconda parte delle sue rime* (Venice: Nicolò Moretti 1597).

⁶⁶⁷ Matraini, *Selected Poetry and Prose*, p. 17.

Che quasi l'alma è del tuo amor digiuna.⁶⁶⁸

with the quatrains of one of Matraini's later lyric compositions:

Se per vero trovar diletto e pace,
lungi dal porto la speranza mia
seguio tempesta perigliosa e ria
nel mar del cieco mio desire audace,
volghisi or, con tranquilla aura vivace,
l'anima al sommo Sol dond'uscì pria,
qual sopra al Cielo a sé dritto l'invia,
accesa di sua pura, ardente face.⁶⁶⁹

Both women use typical Petrarchan tropes such as the port and the storm to describe their spiritual errancy,⁶⁷⁰ both participating in a female tradition of spiritualised Petrarchism inaugurated by Colonna. However, unlike in Terracina's case, the greatest expression of Matraini's religious sentiments are to be found in her later prose works, such as the *Meditazioni spirituali* (Lucca, 1581), *Considerazioni sui sette salmi penitentiali* (1587) and *Vita della vergine* (1590), and her lyric poetry remained a secondary vehicle for religious meditation.

⁶⁶⁸ *Nono libro*, MS Palatino 229, fol. 35^v.

⁶⁶⁹ Matraini, *Selected Poetry and Prose*, p. 184.

⁶⁷⁰ As does Battiferri ('Come chi da mortal certo periglio', *I sette salmi*, p. 112) among others. The marine motif is first found in Petrarch's *Rerum vulgarium fragmenta*, LXXX, and appears in the work of numerous subsequent Petrarchists, including Terracina's Neapolitan contemporary Galeazzo di Tarsia (*Rota, Rime*, p. 484).

On occasion, Terracina also adopts a notably penitential tone, metaphorically prostrating herself before God in repentance of her sins:

A Christo

Tu vedi signor mio quanto atta sono,
Anzi inchinata al mal, più assai ch'al bene,
Et che 'l nemico tuo, mi stringe et tiene
Tal ch'io non faccio alcun'effetto buono.

Fammi dunque gioir quel tuo bel dono
Che festi a noi con le tue gravi pene,
Et sciogli l'alma da sì rie catene
Acciò che del mio error chieda perdono.

Festi me senza me, tu sommo Dio
Nè salvar mi potrei pur ch'io non voglia
Nè darmi il paradiso ne l'inferno.

Sol mi resta nel core, e nel desio
Che s'hor godo per te la mortale spoglia
Per te condurmi spero al bene eterno.⁶⁷¹

Other female poets such as Gaspara Stampa had adopted a similarly penitential attitude in their work too, seeking divine forgiveness:

Mesta e pentita de' miei gravi errori
e del mio vaneggiar tanto e sì lieve,
e d'aver speso questo tempo breve
de la vita fugace in vani amori,
a te, Signor, ch'intenerisci i cori,

⁶⁷¹ *Nono libro*, MS Palatino 229, fols 43^r-43^v.

e rendi calda la gelata neve,
e fai soave ogn'aspro peso e greve
a chiunque accendi di tuoi santi ardori,
ricorro, e prego che mi porghi mano
a trarmi fuor del pelago.⁶⁷²

By showing how profoundly embedded Terracina was within literary trends among female poets of her age, we are reminded how hard it is to assume her 1577 *rime spirituali* are the traces of a late-in-life religious turn. By writing religious lyric, she is placing herself within a popular and fashionable genre, one particularly accommodating to women thanks to its pious, spiritualised nature.⁶⁷³ Moreover, this move accorded with the increasingly repressive religious climate of the Counter Reformation, a safer choice than Terracina's previous polemical positions in other works. It also becomes clear, however, how hard it was for her to disentangle herself from old habits and entirely leave behind the encomiastic poetry which had served her so well and in which she still had faith, to judge from the way in which her final manuscript included work from preceding decades. In light of this constant social relationship building, this dissertation will now turn to consider finally how Terracina's own contemporaries responded to her and her works.

⁶⁷² Cited in Cox, *Lyric Poetry*, p. 209, from Stampa, *Rime*, 1554.

⁶⁷³ Cox, *The Prodigious Muse*, p. xix.

VI. Conclusion: The Reception and Afterlife of Terracina's Poetry

Over forty editions in fifty years are the lasting testimony of Terracina's huge popularity in her own time. We can follow her traces to France and Spain, to schools and libraries. Nonetheless, the landscape of Terracina's readership is populated with silhouettes rather than detail; tantalising hints are the norm. Then, as the sixteenth century drew to a close, Laura Terracina gradually fell victim to the 'weak history' suffered by so many of her female peers.⁶⁷⁴ Having begun to explore the significance of Terracina as an author and her work, it is fitting to draw this dissertation to a close with some indications of the reach of her work in her own time, and potential future lines of inquiry which will help us understand even better the relationships between women authors and their readers in Cinquecento Italy.

Terracina's readers in the sixteenth century

A small number of primary sources exist which help us to build up a picture of Terracina's readership in her own time. To start at the micro-level, a personal response to Terracina's poetry can be found in the letters of Lucrezia Gonzaga, in which she writes to Reverendo Don Gioanni da Crema, her nephew's tutor:

Io ricevei le *Rime* della signora Laura Terracina che per lo Bonardo à dí passati mi mandaste e, perché ne ricercate il mio giudizio, vi dico che tutte le lodi insieme raccolte non sarieno bastanti per lodarle, né io saprei mai che maggior lode lor dare che di confessare ch'elle avanzino ogni lode che dar si possa... anche à nostri tempi non manchino chi possa stare a petto di Safo, di Corinna,

⁶⁷⁴ This apt phrase is first found in *Strong Voices, Weak History*, ed. by Benson and Kirkham.

di Cornificia, e di quella Pola Argentaria che suppliva nel far dei versi a Lucano suo marito.⁶⁷⁵

Gonzaga's letter shows that Terracina's work was being shared and, importantly, discussed among people of standing and culture: feedback and opinions are sought. Notably, the text written about here is not her *Discorso*, which could be seen as her most 'literary' work; rather, it is a book of encomiastic and occasional poetry which draws such extravagant praise. Gonzaga draws upon the same mythological-classical lexical realm as Terracina herself in comparing her to Sappho and Corinna among other learned women. By mentioning Terracina, as well as Colonna, Gambara and Gaspara Stampa in her *epistolario*, Gonzaga is placing herself within a community of learned women, publicly displaying her own credentials.⁶⁷⁶ Gonzaga's letter is one small trace, but it is an indicator of the place Terracina held in the public imagination as an esteemed poet.

The copy of the *Settime rime* held in the Liverpool Sydney Jones library provides intriguing clues as to how Terracina's readers received this particular work, now extant in only three copies.⁶⁷⁷ The *Settime rime* is an intensely local work of poetry containing addresses to over two hundred Neapolitan widows 'titolate e non titolate',

⁶⁷⁵ *Lettere con Appendice di nuovi documenti*, ed. by Renzo Bragantini and Primo Griguolo (Rovigo: Minelliana, 2009), p. 108.

⁶⁷⁶ Meredith K. Ray, *Writing Gender in Women's Letter Collections of the Italian Renaissance* (Toronto, Buffalo and London: University of Toronto Press, 2009), p. 106.

⁶⁷⁷ The other two remaining copies are in the Biblioteca Nazionale of Naples (classmarks San Martino 9 8 31 and B.Branc.104 I 18). Neither has any annotations. A complete and overarching study of annotations found in editions of Terracina's work (beyond the scope of this dissertation) would I believe prove informative both about Terracina and broader reading practices around popular female authors.

that is, of both noble and non-noble blood. The scarcity of remaining copies suggests that the work had only a small print run (it was printed in Naples), and its urban focus suggests it was of rather specialised interest. Nonetheless, one reader was sufficiently invested in the work to correct printing errors of spelling by hand and also adjust the number of syllables in a line.⁶⁷⁸ This reader, quite possibly the ‘Simone Arnigo’ or ‘Jiménez Arango’ who has written his name at the front of the book, must either have had a manuscript copy of the work from which they corrected the errors,⁶⁷⁹ or else was so ‘literary’ – quite possibly a poet themselves – that they felt assured enough to alter the spelling and lexical choices of a printed poet.⁶⁸⁰ The case is intriguing for what it tells us about how Terracina’s work was read. The owner has signed his initials, likely SA, and his name. This is seemingly ‘Simone’, possibly ‘Jiménez’ and ‘Arnigo’ or ‘Arango’. He has then written the motto from Jacopo Sannazaro’s *impresa*, ‘Equavit nigras candida sola dies’, at the front of the work. In the Neapolitan context of the work this motto would have been known, but why it was penned on this book remains mysterious. On a final endpaper, he has written a variation of a quotation from Petrarch, ‘a chi sa leger [...] la fronte ’l mostra’, the original Petrarch reading ‘A chi sa

⁶⁷⁸ For general background work on marginalia, see William H. Sherman, *Used Books. Marking Readers in Renaissance England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008); and *Renaissance Paratexts*, ed. by Smith and Wilson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

⁶⁷⁹ An example of such behaviour would be the corrections found in the printed copy of Vittoria Colonna’s *Rime* owned by Michelangelo, which he corrected against his own gift manuscript (Vittoria Colonna, *Tutte le rime*, 1558, British Library C.28.a.10).

⁶⁸⁰ Abigail Brundin has kindly brought to my attention that this type of annotation is also frequently found in editions of Vittoria Colonna’s work. It is suggestive of a rich context of sharing and copying, on which much work remains to be done (personal communication, 16/10/17). See also Richardson, *Manuscript Culture*.

legger, nella fronte il mostro' from the *Triumph of Love*.⁶⁸¹ We can surmise that one early reader was male and educated in the formation of Italian poetry well enough to correct a printed book. It seems counterintuitive to find a highly localised poetry collection, dedicated to the lowly social category of widows, being assessed critically and seriously by a man. Nonetheless, it is evidently the case that the collection was deemed to be worthy of consideration and close attention.

The Newberry Library in Chicago gives evidence of how Terracina's works could also be read – or used – in a very different fashion by early owners. The collection holds a volume of the *Rime della Divina Vettoria Colonna Marchesana di Pescara*,⁶⁸² bound with the *Discorso sopra il principio di tutti I canti d'Orlando Furioso*,⁶⁸³ and *Rime della S. Laura Terracina*.⁶⁸⁴ The binding of the volume is contemporary with the publication dates of the books.⁶⁸⁵ The Colonna work bears no annotations. The *Discorso*, however, has two very different types of marginalia. The title page has been used to make a series of jotted calculations, such as a merchant or schoolchild might make. However, an

⁶⁸¹ I am very grateful to Dr Marco Faini for helping me to read these inscriptions and suggesting fruitful lines of enquiry as to their significance. 'A chi sa legger nella fronte il mostro' is also the motto of the Di Lienì family, but there are no further suggestions that a member of this family may have owned the volume (http://www.armoriale.it/wiki/Motti_presenti_nelle_armi_delle_famiglie_italiane/Italiano [accessed January 26, 2016]). Professor Brian Richardson has also kindly noted the presence of a Madrid bookseller's stamp on the verso of this leaf.

⁶⁸² *Rime della Divina Vettoria Colonna Marchesana di Pescara* (Venice?: Marcus Salcionus?, 1539), call number Case PQ4620 .R56 1539 no.1. My warm thanks to Abigail Brundin for notifying me of these works and providing photographs.

⁶⁸³ *Discorso sopra il principio di tutti I canti d'Orlando Furioso* (Venice: [?], 1568).

⁶⁸⁴ *Rime della S. Laura Terracina* (Venice: Domenico Farri, 1560).

⁶⁸⁵ As per the Newberry catalogue, <<https://webvoyage.carli.illinois.edu/nby/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi?DB=local&v1=1&BBRecID=119177>> [accessed 01 April 2018].

annotator has also added in very carefully by hand the missing final pages, recto and verso, of the dedication, and publishing details. The care taken over these neat lines of prose is at odds with the scribbled calculations on the title page. The *Rime*, in turn, has been used for penmanship practice on the reverse of the title page, where a budding scholar has written their alphabet and practiced their letters. Here, we have three very different types of reader marks (scribbled maths; letter practice; careful completion of a text) which collectively suggest that the Terracina's works were once very *present* in someone's home. To have been used for quick calculations, the volume must have been close at hand and not too highly valued, while the pen practice also suggests it was within easy reach. The careful way, however, that someone has completed the dedication implies an invested reader, who desired the text to be whole. Terracina's works were clearly not valuable enough to be kept pristine, but they were also not left on a shelf, untouched. Moreover, it seems significant that Terracina's poetry was bound with that of Colonna: it indicates of a public grouping of these female writers into the same 'category' at least for the purposes of book storage and access.

Beyond the evidence of Terracina's readership given within her own works, some secondary evidence of how she was perceived by her readers and the public can be found. Paul Grendler mentions the case of a Venetian school which taught Terracina's *Discorso* as a 'moral' alternative to the *Orlando Furioso*. The evidence for this comes from a 'professione di fede', listing the vernacular texts taught by Venetian teachers during the years 1587-1588, with the *Discorso* taught by two teachers (for comparison, the *Orlando Furioso* was taught by nine teachers) under the category of 'Chivalric romances'.⁶⁸⁶ In Grendler's own words, a vernacular work had to achieve

⁶⁸⁶ Paul Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989) pp. 276-77.

‘extraordinary success among the Latinless’⁶⁸⁷ to join the curriculum, evidence of Terracina’s popularity a full thirty years after her work was originally published, and a decade after the presumed date of her death. It appears that teaching the *Discorso* was an attempt to replace the *Orlando Furioso* with a more morally upright imitation: ‘quelli che vogliono imparar lettere d’ottava rima li facio imparar el libro del Terrazina e alcuni altri, ma la maggior parte tutti sono spirituali’.⁶⁸⁸ Grendler hypothesises that this teacher may have used the *Discorso* and spiritual poetry in the place of chivalric romance thanks to a strong personal commitment to the Counter-Reformation, something which his training suggests.⁶⁸⁹ Nonetheless, with its pro-woman discourse, it would be hard to consider the *Discorso* an entirely innocuous text for its time, although it is certainly easier to identify its ethical standpoint than is the case for the *Orlando Furioso*. It is also of interest to note the telling ‘del Terrazina’: the teacher in this case appears to be under the impression Terracina was a man, perhaps explaining why the potentially subversive nature of text was safely neutralised. In particular, the sections of the work which call upon women to write their own history (canto XXXVII in particular) have much less symbolic force if thought to be written by a man. A further point of interest is that the *Discorso* was actively being used as a pedagogical aid to teach the *ottava rima* form. This is perhaps surprising, given the current critical tendency to dismiss Terracina as a technically poor poet: it seems she was not considered so in her own time in the same way.

Further secondary evidence of how Terracina’s works were read, received and perceived can be adduced from consideration of the works with which Terracina’s texts were bound. Of course, it is tricky to tell when works were bound together, but

⁶⁸⁷ Grendler, *Schooling*, p. 277.

⁶⁸⁸ ACPV, ‘Professioni di fede’, fol. 151v, Johannes Baptista de Grimaldis; Baldo, 1977, p. 63, cited in Grendler, *Schooling*, p. 299.

⁶⁸⁹ Grendler, *Schooling*, p. 299.

it is certainly the case that in the sixteenth century many books were sold unbound, for later binding (if desired) singly or with related works. One significant instance of her 'collectability' as an author is a volume of Terracina's works bound together and held at the British Library, London.⁶⁹⁰ The 1548 *Rime* and 1550 *Discorso* have been bound with two pages pasted into the front of the work, printed in the same font on the same paper, but trimmed down to different sizes. The first page is a letter from 'Il Doni Fiorentino', namely Anton Francesco Doni, to Marcantonio Passero; the second page bears a sonnet from 'Lodovico D.', most likely Lodovico Domenichi and not Lodovico Dolce.⁶⁹¹ The third page has a portrait of Terracina. The letter to Passero from Doni clarifies the situation: Doni is presenting Passero with a portrait of Terracina from a series of engraved portraits by Enea Vico, commissioned by Doni to be published as *Medaglie di Doni*.⁶⁹² Doni circulated samples of the portraits before publication, but given the additional written material, this page was likely cut from the first of the two Giolito editions of this work from 1550.⁶⁹³ The editions were published in quarto format, which would also explain why the page bearing the portrait was cut down, but is not the same size as the octavo volumes with which it is bound. It is unclear when the copy of the 1548 *Rime*, the 1550 *Discorso* and the portrait of Terracina were bound together. As binding was a significant cost in the sixteenth century, works of similar genres or by the same author were often bound together; publishers might also anticipate the desires of readers by producing compendium

⁶⁹⁰ British Library shelfmark: General Reference Collection: 241.e.12(2)

⁶⁹¹ This deduction can be made based on Terracina's difficult relationship with Dolce discussed in chapter two.

⁶⁹² For more on the *Medaglia* series, see Thompson, 'Antonfrancesco Doni's 'Medaglie''; Anton Francesco Doni, *La prima parte de le medaglie del Doni. Con alcune lettere, d'huomini illustri nel fine, et le risposte* (Venice: Gabriel Giolito de Ferrari, 1550).

⁶⁹³ Thompson, pp. 224–25, 232; Cecilia Ricottini Marsili-Libelli, *Anton Francesco Doni. Scrittore e stampatore* (Florence: Sansoni Antiquariato, 1960), p. 58.

editions.⁶⁹⁴ Whether or not these works were bound together in the 1500s or a following century, at least one reader thought it worthwhile to gather Terracina's collections together, and add in the author portrait, suggesting a certain amount of thought went into the process.

Terracina also appears in the library of Audley End (Essex, England), in a copy of the *Discorso* bound, intriguingly, with an edition of Pietro Bembo's influential *Rime* and, conversely, the little known *Il divin'oraculo di m. Gio. Maria Masenetti Padovano. In lode delli novi sposi del 1548. E tutte le belle Gentildonne Padovane*.⁶⁹⁵ Interestingly, it is a first edition of the *Discorso*, dated 1549 on the frontispiece but which was eventually published in 1550. This edition is relatively rare, suggesting that the purchaser was closely engaged with the world of Italian publishing. Given that the other two works were published at a similar time, we can surmise that the three books were bound together shortly after publication. They are, however, of strikingly disparate genres: prose and poetry, amorous and discursive. It could be that the three books were bound together by an English buyer as a result of their common Italian origin; they may also have functioned as a sort of 'miscellany' of samples of Italian writing at the midcentury.

⁶⁹⁴ For example, in 1566 Giolito published a volume entitled *Rime della Signora Laura Terracina. Con il Discorso sopra il principio di tutti i canti d'Orlando Furioso* (Venice: Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari, 1566). The 1566 Giolito compendium edition of the *Rime* and *Discorso* is of the same edition and printing as copies dated 1565, according to the Manchester University Library catalogue, barcode RAEQH.

⁶⁹⁵ My thanks to Abigail Brundin for bringing this compendium to my attention. Pietro Bembo, *Rime di Monsignor P. Bembo* (Venice: Giovan Andrea Valvassori, [not before 1539]); Gio. Maria Masenetti, *Il divin'oraculo di m. Gio. Maria Masenetti Padovano. In lode delli novi sposi del 1548. E tutte le belle Gentildonne Padovane* (Venice: Giovan Andrea Valvassori, 1544).

On a wider scale, a good indicator for how Terracina's work was received is its rate of anthologisation, and the volumes in which it was anthologised. Overall, she seems to have been included in anthologies less than expected, but was particularly chosen as a contributor to specific volumes. As we have seen, her first appearance in print was in the second edition (1546) of Domenichi's *Rime diverse di molti eccellentissimi autori*, and she also appeared in the 1561 *Rime di diversi nobilissimi, et eccellentissimi autori, In morte della Signora Irene delle Signore di Spilimbergo*.⁶⁹⁶ In the words of Anne Jacobson Schutte, Terracina joined the 'fior fiore' of the Italian literary scene, including Dolce, Domenichi, Tansillo, Varchi, and Tasso father and son, in paying tribute to a young woman.⁶⁹⁷ Terracina's contributions to the volume, 'O ch'empia ira del ciel cagion ne fusse' and 'Giva di gloria Giove, e d'honor cinto'⁶⁹⁸ are studiously neutral, in that they give no indication that gender unites the deceased and the poet who writes of her. Indeed, Schutte points out that '[i]t is unlikely that most of the contributors knew Irene or had even heard of her before they were invited to submit poems for the memorial volume'.⁶⁹⁹ This is itself indicative of the esteem in which Terracina was held: she is invited as a well-known 'public' poet to contribute poems under her own name. Moreover, she does not overshadow less well-known poets, as she might have done in a volume of women's writing.

⁶⁹⁶ *Rime di diversi nobilissimi, et eccellentissimi autori, In morte della Signora Irene delle Signore di Spilimbergo. Alle quali si sono aggiunti versi Latini di diversi egregii Poeti, in morte della medesima Signora* (Venice: Domenico e Giovan Battista Guerra, fratelli, 1561).

⁶⁹⁷ Anne Jacobson Schutte, 'Irene di Spilimbergo: The Image of a Creative Woman in Late Renaissance Italy', *Renaissance Quarterly* 44 (1991), 42-61 (p. 42).

⁶⁹⁸ *Rime [...] In morte della Signora Irene delle Signore di Spilimbergo*, p. 118.

⁶⁹⁹ 'Irene di Spilimbergo: The Image', p. 42.

In other comparable works, however, such as the 1555 *Rime di diversi ecc. autori, in vita, e in morte dell'ill. S. Livia Colonna*,⁷⁰⁰ Terracina is absent, as she is from general anthologies such as *De le rime di diversi eccellentissimi autori* (which contains poetry by Chiara Matraini and Isabella di Morra)⁷⁰¹ and *Rime di diversi, et eccellenti autori. Raccolte da i libri da noi altre volte impressi, tra le quali, se ne leggono molte non piu vedute, di nuovo ricorrette e ristampate* (which contains poetry by Tullia d'Aragona and Veronica Gambara, as well as Neapolitans such as Angelo di Costanzo and Ferrante Carafa).⁷⁰² Most notably, Terracina was also excluded from Domenichi's 1559 Busdraghi volume *Rime diverse d'alcune nobilissime, et virtuosissime donne*. It was hypothesised above that she was not included in the latter volume to avoid market saturation. It may also have been that Domenichi felt that including such a famously Neapolitan poet would draw attention from the anthology's Tuscan focus. Terracina's exclusion from the collection certainly does not seem to be on the basis of her poetry per se: *ottava rima* verse is relatively frequent in the collection, in eleven poems, a use which, it has been speculated, was inspired by Terracina's poetry.⁷⁰³

Beyond Italy, it has been possible to begin tracing, in a preliminary fashion, the spread of Terracina's works, which demonstrates definitively the acclaim in which she was held internationally. A variety of sources, including private library records, literary texts and book sale catalogues, allow us to form an initial picture of the poet's reception outside Italy, but much work remains to be carried out. Unfortunately, no

⁷⁰⁰ *Rime di diversi eccellentissimi autori, in vita, e in morte dell'illustrissima S. Livia Colonna* (Rome: Antonio Barrè, ad instantia di M. Francesco Christiani, 1555).

⁷⁰¹ *De le rime di diversi eccellentissimi autori* (Lucca: Vincenzo Busdraghi, 1556).

⁷⁰² *Rime di diversi, et eccellenti autori. Raccolte da i libri da noi altre volte impressi, tra le quali, se ne leggono molte non più vedute, di nuovo ricorrette e ristampate* (Venice: Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari, et fratelli, 1556).

⁷⁰³ Stella, p. 233.

trace of Terracina can be found in catalogues which list the sales of the Frankfurt book fair during the latter half of the sixteenth century and early seventeenth century, despite brief appearances from other popular female authors.⁷⁰⁴ Nonetheless, it is possible to find scattered evidence of the manner in which Terracina's work spread across Western Europe.

As Terracina's poetry itself exemplifies, cultural and social links between the Italian peninsula and France were strong. A particularly interesting source showing how female authors looked beyond national boundaries in search of models and allies in their fight for cultural authority is the *Secondes oeuvres* of the Mesdames des Roches. Published in 1583,⁷⁰⁵ this collection of writings by Madeleine and Catherine des Roches (mother and daughter) followed upon the success of their first volume, *Les oeuvres de Mesdames Des Roches, de Poitiers, mère et fille*, published in 1578-1579.⁷⁰⁶ In the *Secondes oeuvres*, Anne R. Larsen claims, Catherine des Roches deliberately crosses linguistic and geographical borders to affirm a textual community of female peers.⁷⁰⁷ In her

⁷⁰⁴ Works consulted: Georg Willer, *Collectio in unum corpus, omnium librorum hebræorum, græcorum, latinorum nec non germanice, italic, Gallicè, & Hispanicè scriptorium, qui in nundinis Francofurtensibus ab anno 1564 usque nundinas Autumnales anni 1592* (Frankfurt: Nicolai Bassaei, 1592) and Georg Draud, *Bibliotheca exotica, sine Catalogus officinalis librorum peregrinus linguis usualibus scriptorum, videlicet Gallica, Italica, Hispanica, Belgica, Anglica, Danica, Bohemica, Ungarica & omnium quotquot* (Frankfurt: Balthasar Ostern, 1625). The 1625 catalogue lists works by Isabella Andreini (p.260) and one 'Lucretio' Marinella (p. 263).

⁷⁰⁵ *Les secondes oeuvres de mesdames Des Roches, de Poitiers, mère et fille* (Poitiers: Nicolas Courtoys, 1583).

⁷⁰⁶ *Les oeuvres de Mesdames Des Roches, de Poitiers, mère et fille* (Paris: Abel L'Angelier, 1578-1579).

⁷⁰⁷ 'Journeying Across Borders: Catherine des Roches's Catalog of Modern Women Intellectuals,' in *Early Modern Women and Transnational Communities of Letters*, ed. by Julie D. Campbell and Anne R. Larsen (Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate, 2009), pp. 229-49 (p. 229).

‘Dialogue de Placide, et Severe’, Catherine des Roches cites Terracina as a literary model worthy of emulation. The sensible character Placide names Terracina as an example of contemporary female learning before Olimpia Morata and Ippolita Torella: ‘Laure Terracine, de qui le nom volant jusques aux poles ne peut jamais estre atterré’.⁷⁰⁸ Through which channels Des Roches knew of Terracina is unclear; evidently, however, she considered her an important role model and a member of an international coterie of writing women. Italian women writers, who had succeeded in gaining some measure of access to publication, could act as models for their French counterparts. Along with the other women on the list, Terracina was an active product of her times, and unlike female humanists, played an important role in valorising the vernacular, making literature accessible to more women. Moreover, it is interesting that Des Roches is seemingly not preoccupied by Terracina’s pro-Spanish rhetoric, considering – in the context of this dialogue – an example of female accomplishment more important than political allegiances.⁷⁰⁹

⁷⁰⁸ Madeleine des Roches and Catherine des Roches, *Les Secondes Oeuvres*, ed. Anne R. Larsen (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1998), pp. 219-20. For more on Olimpia Morata, whose life, like that of Terracina, was carried out against a backdrop of religious turmoil, see Janet Levarie Smarr, ‘Olimpia Morata: From Classicist to Reformer’, in *Phaethon’s Children: The Este Court and Its Culture in Early Modern Ferrara*, ed. by Dennis Looney and Deanna Shemek (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2005), pp. 321-44. Interestingly, Morata’s posthumously published works were given greater international exposure by being dedicated to Queen Elizabeth I of England after her accession to the throne in 1558 (Levarie Smarr, ‘Olimpia Morata’, p. 338). Ippolita Torella was the wife of Baldassare Castiglione, author of the *Il libro del cortegiano*.

⁷⁰⁹ Larsen (‘Journeying Across Borders’, in *Early Modern Women*, ed. by Campbell and Larsen, p. 234) also notes that all the listed women are married, belying the perceived incompatibility of marriage and learning in a woman.

Intriguingly, Francesco Piccione implies that Terracina may have in fact been published in France by Jean de Tournes, the Lyon publisher who printed the works of Louise Labé: 'Sempre grazie a lui [Jean de Tournes], erano divenute intanto familiari all'élite lionese pure alcune poetesse transalpine, come *Gaspara Stampa*, *Veronica Gambara*, *Vittoria Colonna*, *Laura Terracina* ed altre ancora'.⁷¹⁰ Frustratingly, however, he does not give a source or any further details. A search of likely sources has not revealed any further traces of Tournes promoting Terracina in France, but Des Roches' familiarity with her works suggests it is far from impossible.⁷¹¹ Moreover, De Tournes did publish the works of some Italian women in translation, notably Isabella Sforza.⁷¹²

In Spain, Terracina appears sporadically as an authorial model for women.⁷¹³ Petrarchism was a potent cultural force in Spain, both because Spain was so politically dominant in Italy and because it suffered from a certain sense of cultural inferiority.⁷¹⁴ Ignacio Navarrete identifies a certain 'self-consciousness' in Spanish poets who were conflicted in their identities as imitators of Petrarch who worked in very different ages

⁷¹⁰ Francesco Piccione, *Louise Labé. Il coraggio, gli amori, la poesia di una donna libera* (Rome: Edizioni Efestò, 2013), p. 30. For more on the strategies of male publishers printing female-authored texts in early modern France, see Leah Chang, *Into Print: The Production of Female Authorship in Early Modern France* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2009).

⁷¹¹ Sources searched: EDITEF, Gallica. A Google search also revealed nothing.

⁷¹² Lyndan Warner, *The Ideas of Man and Woman in Renaissance France. Print, Rhetoric, and Law* (Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate, 2011), p. 41.

⁷¹³ My warmest thanks to Dr Roderigo Cacho for his invaluable help in identifying these sources.

⁷¹⁴ See Ignacio Navarrete, *Orphans of Petrarch. Poetry and Theory in the Spanish Renaissance* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1994), for a broad introduction to the currents of Petrarchism in Spain.

and cultural settings.⁷¹⁵ Italian poets and literary authorities played an important part in the cultural heritage recognised in Spain, so it is perhaps unsurprising that Terracina should sometimes appear in the midst of her contemporaries.

We find mention of Terracina in the 'Vida [y elogios] de Garci Lasso de la Vega', a short biography of Garcilaso de la Vega which opens the annotated edition of his works published by Fernando de Herrera in 1580 in Seville.⁷¹⁶ Born in Toledo, Garcilaso knew Naples well from his travels on behalf of Charles V, and was familiar with the Neapolitan aristocracy. The Vida tells us that Paolo Giovio and Pietro Bembo were great admirers of Garcilaso. This information is followed by a stanza of Ariosto's poetry apparently 'dedicated' by Terracina to Garcilaso, and then a sonnet by Tansillo, which provides further proof of De la Vega's strong connections to Naples.

Terracina seems allegedly to have dedicated an octave of Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* to Garcilaso.⁷¹⁷ This is strong evidence for Terracina's association with Ariosto in the public imagination in Spain as well as in Italy. In exactly what way, how or when Terracina 'dedicated' this poem remains, however, unclear. We are told in the Vida:

I primieramente el epitafio que le aplicó, según es fama, Laura Terracina del Canto 16 de Ariosto:

Un giovinetto, che col dolce canto
concorde al suon de la cornuta cetra,
d'intenerir un cor si dava vanto

⁷¹⁵ Navarrete, p. 1.

⁷¹⁶ Fernando de Herrera, *Anotaciones a la poesía de Garcilaso*, ed. by Inoria Pepe and José María Reyes (Madrid: Ediciones Cátedra, 2001).

⁷¹⁷ The octave in question is stanza 72 of *Orlando Furioso*, XVI.

anchor che fusse più duro che pietra.
 Felice lui, se contentar di tanto
 onor sapeasi, e scudo, arco e feretra
 haver' in odio, e scimitarra e Lancia,
 che lo fece morir giovane in Francia.⁷¹⁸

These specific eight lines are not referred to in any of the editions of Terracina's poetry seen for this dissertation. The verb 'aplicar' is defined as 'Acomodar una con otra' in Covarrubias' *Tesoro de la lengua castellana*,⁷¹⁹ and 'Allegar, acercar o poner una cosa junto a otra' in the eighteenth-century *Diccionario de Autoridades*.⁷²⁰ Thus, when Terracina says she 'aplica' the verse to de la Vega, she borrows it from Ariosto to reuse in praise of the Spanish poet.⁷²¹ The full context of this epitaph remains mysterious, even to twentieth-century critics who have investigated Garcilaso de la Vega's relationship with the Neapolitan literary scene.⁷²²

The nature of the unknown epitaph is intriguing for two reasons. Firstly, it suggests manuscript or print sources for Terracina of some kind which have not yet been found. Might she have dedicated this verse to De la Vega in a letter, or funeral anthology? Secondly, Garcilaso de la Vega died in 1536. This was a full decade before the first printed trace we have of Terracina. If she dedicated the octave to the Spanish poet at the time of his death, this is evidence of Terracina playing a role in international literary circles far earlier than has thus far been supposed, at the young age of

⁷¹⁸ De Herrera, pp. 212-13.

⁷¹⁹ Sebastián de Covarrubias, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana* (Madrid: Luis Sanchez, 1611).

⁷²⁰ *Diccionario de Autoridades* (Madrid: Real Academia Española, 1726-1739).

⁷²¹ My warm thanks to Dr Rodrigo Cacho for his useful information on this passage.

⁷²² Eugenio Mele, 'Las poesías latinas de Garcilaso de la Vega y su permanencia en Italia', *Bulletin Hispanique*, 25 (1923), 108-48.

seventeen. However, Herrera only records this dedication in 1580, decades after Garcilaso de la Vega's death. Terracina could have made the dedication in the intervening decades, perhaps when De la Vega's work was published in Italy, in 1547 and 1553.⁷²³ No clear evidence can be gleaned from these editions however, and they remain silent on the question of the mysterious epitaph. Moreover, Terracina may have had access to Spanish books in the cosmopolitan Naples, and known De la Vega's work earlier: it is impossible on the basis of current evidence to know.

In any case, that Terracina's name is mentioned in relation to the deceased Spanish writer is further evidence of the important and esteemed role she played at the heart of a Neapolitan-Spanish literary community. She and her dedication sit comfortably alongside Tansillo and his sonnet ('Spirto gentil, che con la cetra la collo') as ambassadors for their city.

Terracina's posthumous fame

Along with other notable female poets, Laura Terracina was targeted in the so-called 'backlash' against women's authorship in the early seventeenth century. Works such as Traiano Boccalini's *Ragguagli di Parnaso* and Alessandro Zilioli's *Istoria delle vite de' poeti italiani*,⁷²⁴ which circulated in manuscript, spread satirical smear stories. These works focus on the women's sex, casting them as sources of disruption and temptation amongst male *literati*. For example, in Zilioli's *Istoria*, although Colonna and Gambara

⁷²³ Juan Boscan Algomaver, *Las obras de Boscan y alguna de Garcilasso de la Vega repartidas in quarto libros* (Rome: por Antonio da Salamaca, 1547) and (edition consulted) Juan Boscan Algomaver, *Las obras de Boscan y alguna de Garcilasso de la Vega epartidas en quatro libros : a de mas que ay muchas anadidas* (Venice: Giolito, 1553).

⁷²⁴ Cox cites the eighteenth-century manuscript held in the Biblioteca Marciana, Venice, *Istoria delle vite de' poeti italiani di Alessandr Zilioli veneziano*, ms.It.X.I [6394] (*Women's Writing*, pp. 200-01). The manuscript circulated widely in the first half of the seventeenth century.

are given some measure of respect, and Fonte discussed with some warmth, Stampa, D'Aragona and Terracina are mentioned for their (supposed) sexual history rather than literary ability.⁷²⁵ Implicitly, the women have overstepped their boundaries with highly negative social results.⁷²⁶

All respect for Terracina was not entirely erased in the seventeenth century, however: she was one of a series of female authors whose works were reissued by Antonio Bulifon of Naples at the end of the century. Along with Vittoria Colonna, in 1692 Terracina was one of the first women whose poetry Bulifon chose to reissue, both her *Rime* and the *Discorso*.⁷²⁷ As a Neapolitan, it is perhaps unsurprising that Bulifon chose two female poets from Naples as the figureheads of his publishing initiative, but it is also once again an indication of the esteem granted to Terracina as a poet, in her own time and beyond. In addition, her *Rime* sold well enough that they were issued in a new edition, with a new dedication in 1694, and the *Discorso* in 1698.

Terracina is also mentioned on several occasions in the work of Spanish writer Lope de Vega, always as a figure of some learning. In the *Laurel de Apolo* (first published

⁷²⁵ Cox, *Women's Writing*, p. 200.

⁷²⁶ Cox, *Women's Writing*, pp. 198-201.

⁷²⁷ *Rime della signora Laura Terracina detta nell'Accademia degl'Incogniti Febea* (Naples: Antonio Bulifon, 1692) (reissued 1694); *Discorso della signora Laura Terracina sopra il principio di tutti i Canti d'Orlando Furioso* (Naples: Antonio Bulifon, 1698). In 1693 Bulifon issued poetry by Lucrezia Marinella, Veronica Gambara, Isabella della Morra, Maria Selvaggia Borghini and Tullia di Aragona; in 1694 the poetry of Laura Battiferra and a collection of *Rime di cinquanta illustri poetesse*; and in 1696 Isabella Andreini's *Rime* (*Dizionario biografico degli italiani* entry for 'Bulifon, ANTONIO', by Gaspare de Caro, [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/antonio-bulifon_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/antonio-bulifon_(Dizionario-Biografico)/) [accessed 12 February 2017]).

Madrid, 1630), a long poem in which he praises Spanish poets,⁷²⁸ and a few from abroad, he compares Isabel de Rivadeneira to Terracina favourably, but in a manner which also affirms Terracina's skill: 'sus rimas de conceptos llenas, exceden las de Laura Terracina'.⁷²⁹ In Silva IX of the *Laurel de Apolo*,⁷³⁰ Terracina, along with Colonna and Isabella Andreini, is listed among a selection of male and female poets representing Italy's poetic prowess of the recent past:

la divina marquesa de Pescara,
con Laura Terracina
y, por mujer tan rara
Isabela Andreina,
el Petrarca, Ariosto y los dos Tassos.⁷³¹

Terracina is also mentioned in the dedication to Lope de Vega's play *La viuda valenciana*, to Marta de Nevares: 'Si vuesa merced hace versos se rinden Laura Terracina; Ana Bins, alemana; Sapho, griega; Valeria, Latina, y Argentaria, española.'⁷³² In his later prose play *La Dorotea*, Lope de Vega's reference to Terracina again validates her as an author by seeing her writing as a reflection of her intelligence and learning: 'se puede ver y conocer el entendimiento de Dorotea, como en sus Rimas

⁷²⁸ Edition consulted: Lope De Vega, *Laurel de Apolo*, ed. by Antonio Carreño (Madrid: Cátedra, 2007).

⁷²⁹ Silva I, l. 544.

⁷³⁰ Silva IX, l. 227.

⁷³¹ De Vega, *Laurel de Apolo*, silva IX, ll. 226-30.

⁷³² Lope de Vega, *La Viuda Valenciana*, ed. by Teresa Ferrer Valls (Madrid: Clásicos Castalia, 2001), p. 96.

el de Laura Terracina o la marquesa de Pescara'.⁷³³ Abroad, Terracina is held up as a symbol of Italian female learning alongside Vittoria Colonna, another suggestion that we should reconsider assumptions of Terracina's place in the early modern literary landscape. In this final citation, it is particularly intriguing that Vega refers to 'Rimas', presumably, the *Rime*, rather than the better known *Discorso*. It is evidence, perhaps, of the success of her highly social and outward-looking poetic project, as well as of the links between Spain and Naples.

More evidence – and perhaps the tip of an iceberg – comes from the library holdings of Spanish nobles and intellectuals in the seventeenth century, as recorded in the IBSO: *Inventarios y Bibliotecas del Siglo de Oro*.⁷³⁴ A search for Terracina in this database reveals four results: two holdings in the library of Diego Sarmineto Acuña, Count de Gondomar (1626), one in the library of Vincencio Juan de Lastanosa (1662) and one in the library of Lorenzo Ramírez de Prado (1662).

Sarmiento Acuña appears to have owned a 1567 edition of the *Discorso* in octavo published in Venice, presumably the Farri edition (Valvassori brought out a second edition in 1567 too, but in conjunction with the *Seconda parte*). Intriguingly, the other listing is for 'Laura Terracina et Tullia di Aragona, Rime.' and dated 1547. As Terracina had not had any works published in 1547, we can hypothesise that one of Terracina's books was bound with Tullia d' Aragona's 1547 *Rime*. If D' Aragona's work was bound first, that would explain the catalogue date of 1547. The listing for Lastanosa is for a 1550 edition of the *Discorso sui i primi canti d'Orlando Furioso*, in octavo. This is exciting

⁷³³ Lope de Vega, *La Dorotea*, ed. by Donald McGrady (Madrid: Real Academia Española, 2011), p. 55.

⁷³⁴ *Inventarios y Bibliotecas del Siglo de Oro*, <<http://www.bidiso.es/IBSO/ResultadosBusquedaGeneral.do?sessionId=978DBE2FDC3D590949CB053A6E8BB9B9>> [accessed 09/08/2017].

because this edition is an early one, retaining the original title of the work (it would later become *Discorso sopra il principio di tutti i canti d'Orlando Furioso*). Although we do not know when the work entered Spanish hands, there was clearly an interest in Terracina's early works, and enough editions printed for them to circulate widely. In the Prado library we find another edition of this *Discorso*, in this case dated 1568, an intriguing date given that I have found no evidence of an edition published in that year. Given the other likely dating error (1547) it seems likely that again this is a cataloguing error. Nonetheless, it is telling that Terracina's works are considered worth owning in Spain in the mid-seventeenth century.

This does not seem to be the case in England; Terracina does not appear in lists of Italian books published in England, nor in major libraries with Italian holdings,⁷³⁵ with the exception of Audley End mentioned above, although her name does make a brief appearance in the translation of the *Ragguagli di Parnaso*.⁷³⁶ This is not a surprising result, given that books by other Italian women writers were also rare, although Italian lyric poetry was very fashionable in England and Harington's famous 1591 translation of Ariosto's *Furioso* proved popular.⁷³⁷

⁷³⁵ She is absent from *A Bibliographical Catalogue of Italian Books Printed in England 1558-1608*, ed. by Soko Tomita (Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate, 2009), and from all the libraries catalogued by the National Trust. The holding at Audley End (an English Heritage property) has been discussed. William Drummond of Hawthornden was a keen collector of Italian books, but did not own any by Terracina (*The Library of Drummond of Hawthornden*, ed. by Robert H. MacDonald (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1971)).

⁷³⁶ Henry, Earl of Monmouth (trans.), *I Ragguagli di Parnasso: or, Advertisements from Parnassus*, Trajano Boccalini (London: Humphrey Moseley, 1657), reprinted 1669.

⁷³⁷ Ludovico Ariosto, *Orlando Furioso in English Heroical Verse*, trans. by John Harington (London: Richard Field, 1591). Other English holdings of Italian books include for instance,

In the following centuries, Terracina has been anthologised at a notably lower rate than her female contemporaries. Of Quondam's chosen nine representative anthologies of female poetry in *Petrarchismo mediato*, Terracina is present in just two, with three poems.⁷³⁸ This is an extraordinarily low number, given Terracina's popularity in her own day: Chiara Matraini, for example, features in five volumes with 45 poems; Tullia d'Aragona in six volumes with seven poems; Gaspara Stampa in all nine volumes with an extraordinary 133 poems (we might detect here the later preference for amorous poetry which expresses an 'authentic' female voice). It is a particularly striking discrepancy given that none of these other writers had an extensive publication history in their own time; Gaspara Stampa, for instance, was published in just one slim posthumous edition in 1554.⁷³⁹ There is a clear difference between the *in vita* and *in morte* reputations of these women writers. It is likely that the compounding marginalisation of Terracina, combined with the relative inaccessibility of her work, has heightened the sense that she is unworthy of study. As mentioned, Cox suggests there is 'an unconscious prejudice that sees publication as an index of merit',⁷⁴⁰ and while this cannot be applied to Terracina in her own day, it could certainly be the case in the centuries since. This lack of visibility, compounded over hundreds of years, as inclusion in anthologies was seen as a marker of cultural

the two copies of the *Orlando Furioso*, one of Ariosto's *Rime*, and Lucrezia Marinella's prose *Arcadia felice* in the Drummond library.

⁷³⁸ *Petrarchismo mediato. Per una critica della forma 'antologia'* (Rome: Bulzoni editore, 1974), p. 153. The poems are 'Mentre senza temere oltraggio e scorno', 'Padre del ciel, se mai ti mosse a sdegno' (featured in two anthologies) and 'Veggio il mondo fallir, veggolo stolto', in *Lirici del cinquecento*, ed. by Daniele Ponchiroli (Turin: UTET, 1958) and *Poetesse del secolo XVI*, ed. by Andrea Rubbi (Venice: Antonio Zatta, 1787).

⁷³⁹ *Rime di Madonna Gaspara Stampa* (Venice: Plinio Pietrasanta, 1554).

⁷⁴⁰ *Women's Writing*, p. 88.

importance and literary worth, has likely contributed to the current critical neglect of Terracina, even as other poets are 'rediscovered'.

This dissertation has taken an overview of Laura Terracina in her various contexts, not just her home city of Naples, but the broader Italian peninsula, and even the spread of her influence and work across Europe. It has considered how the spread of her reputation was enabled by the printing press and close, if not always smooth, relationships with male agents, *poligrafi*, and publishers. Terracina's written works were used as the means to understand how she sought to react to the world around her and proffer her own opinions, in turn shaping her own image in the minds of her readers. The aim of this analysis was to dispute the popular critical notion that Terracina is unworthy of further study (seemingly for not meeting some arbitrary literary standard), and instead bring to light some of the features which make her such a fascinating example of a woman writing in the mid Cinquecento. In her own right she was an important figure on the cultural scene in early modern Naples, a source of civic pride for a dynamic city. She created around herself a network of supporters, friends and flatterers who would aid her in her project of literary and social success. More broadly, she is also a figure who illuminates some of the channels and mechanisms by which women won themselves access to the world of print, negotiating with the dominant forces at play. It is hoped that this dissertation will be a contribution to what appears to be a new wave of interest in Terracina, and act as a springboard for further research into her life and work, for much remains to be discovered about this forgotten best-selling author.

Bibliography

Works by Laura Terracina

Manuscript

Sonetti al sommo Pontefice Gregorio Decimoterzo, et con sua santita tutti li cardinali, Rime spirituali morte di Principj, et di signori titulati, et non titulati, con altri sonetti aparticulari gentil'homini et\ Donne... Libro Nono

Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale di Firenze, Palatino 229

Printed

Rime de la Signora Laura Terracina (Venice: Gabriel Giolito de Ferrari, 1548)

Copies consulted:

- Trinity College, Cambridge, Grylls 8.392[2]

Rime della signora Laura Terracina (Venice: Gabriel Giolito de Ferrari, 1549)

Copies consulted:

- British Library, General Reference Collection 11426.aaa.36.(1.)

Rime seconde della Signora Laura Terracina di Napoli. E di diversi a lei (Florence: Torrentino, 1549)

Copies consulted:

- British Library, General Reference Collection 11426.aaa.36.(2.)
- Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Firenze, NENC.1.8.3.35
- Biblioteca dell'Accademia nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiniana, Rome, 130 D 2

Discorso sopra tutti li primi canti d'Orlando Furioso fatti per la signora Laura Terracina (Venice: Gabriel Giolito de Ferrari, 1549, in fine 1550)

Copies consulted:

- Biblioteca dell'Accademia nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiniana, Rome, 130 D 3

Rime della signora Laura Terracina, e nel fine una diceria d'amore del Doni (Venice: Gabriel Giolito, 1550)

Copies consulted:

- Trinity College, Cambridge, G.12.117[4]

Discorso sopra tutti li primi canti d'Orlando Furioso (Venice: Gabriel Giolito, 1550)

Copies consulted:

- British Library, General Reference Collection 241.e.12.(2.)

Quarte rime della signora Laura Terracina (Venice: Giovan Andrea Valavassorio, 1550)

Copies consulted:

- British Library, Humanities and Social Sciences, St Pancras Reading Rooms, 11426.aaa.36.(3.)

Discorso sopra il principio di tutti i canti d'Orlando Furioso. Fatto per la s. Laura Terracina: detta nell'Academia degl'Incogniti Febea. (Venice: Gabriel Giolito de Ferrari e fratelli, 1551)

Copies consulted:

- British Library, General Reference Collection 1071.f.7.(4.)

Quinte rime della Signora Laura Terracina detta Phebea nell'academia de gl'Incogniti (Venice: Giovan Andrea Valvassorio, 1552)

Copies consulted:

- Trinity College, Cambridge, G.12.156[3]

Discorso sopra il principio di tutti i canti d'Orlando Furioso. Fatto per la s. Laura Terracina, detta nell'Academia de gl'Incogniti Febea. (Venice: Gabriel Giolito de Ferrari, et fratelli, 1554)

Copies consulted:

- British Library, General Reference Collection G.18091.

Le seste rime della Signora Laura Terracina di Napoli nuovamente stampate (Lucca: Vincenzo Busdragho, 1558)

Copies consulted:

- Cambridge University Library, Bute.863
- British Library, General Reference Collection G.10625

Quarte rime della Signora Laura Terracina detta Phebea nell'Academia de gl'Incogniti (Venice: Domenico Farri, 1560)

Copies consulted:

- British Library, General Reference Collection 11427.df.5.

Le seste rime de la Signora Laura Terracina. Nuovamente Reviste, & stampate, Con altri nuovi sonetti aggiunti (Naples: Raymondo Amato, 1560)

Copies consulted:

- British Library, General Reference Collection 238.b.21.

Settime rime sopra tutte le donne vedove di questa nostra citta di Napoli, titolate e non titolate (Naples: Mattia Cancer, 1561)

Copies consulted:

- Liverpool University, Sydney Jones Library Special Collections/Archives. SPEC L51.24
- Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli, S.Martino 9.8.31
- Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli, B.Branc.104 I 18.

Rime: con il discorso sopra il principio di tutti i canti d'Orlando Furioso (Venice: Domenico Farri, 1566)

Copies consulted:

- Cambridge University Library, Bute.861

La seconda parte de' discorsi sopra le seconde stanze de' canti d'Orlando furioso, della s. Laura Terracina detta nell'Accademia de gl'Incogniti, Febea (Venice: Giovan Andrea Valvassorio, 1567)

Copies consulted:

- Biblioteca dell'Accademia nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiniana, Rome, 131.D.15
- Biblioteca Civica di Padova, VIAE008220

Il discorso della S. Laura Terracina; sopra il principio di tutti i Canti di Orlando Furioso. Di nuovo con somma diligentia corretto, & ristampato (Venice: In Frezzeria al Segno della Regina, 1581)

Copies consulted:

- Trinity College, Cambridge, Grylls 8.392[1]

Discorsi sopra le prime stanze de' canti d'Orlando Furioso, ed. by Rotraud von Kulesa and Daria Perocco (Florence: Franco Cesati Editore, 2017)

Selected Poetry, ed. by Amelia Papworth (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies and Iter, forthcoming)

Primary sources

Agrippa, Cornelius Henricus, *Declamation on the Nobility and Preeminence of the Female Sex*, trans. and ed. by Albert Rabil Jr. (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1996)

Aldimari, Biagio, *Historia Genealogica della Famiglia Carafa, libro secondo* (Naples: Antonio Bulifon, 1691)

Boscan Algomaver, Juan, *Las obras de Boscan y alguna de Garcilasso de la Vega repartidas in quarto libros* (Rome: por Antonio da Salamaca, 1547)

- *Las obras de Boscan y alguna de Garcilasso de la Vega epartidas en quatro libros: a de mas que ay muchas anadidas* (Venice: Gabriel Gilito [sic] de Ferrariis y sus hermanos, 1553)

Ammirato, Scipione, *Delle famiglie nobili napoletane* (Florence: Giorgio Marescotti, 1580)

Ariosto, Ludovico, *Orlando Furioso in English Heroical Verse*, trans. by John Harington (London: Richard Field, 1591)

- *Orlando Furioso*, ed. by Lanfranco Caretti (Turin: Einaudi, 1992)

Blasius Altomare, *Memorie storiche di diverse famiglie nobili, cosi Napoletane come Forastiere* (Naples: Giacomo Raillard, 1691)

Aretino, Pietro, *Sonetti lussuriosi e pasquinate* (Rome: Newton Compton editori, 1980)

- *Lettere*, ed. by Francesco Erspamer (Parma: Ugo Guanda Editore, 1998)

Battiferri Ammannati, Laura, *Lettere di Laura Battiferri Ammannati a Benedetto Varchi* (Bologna: Commissione per i testi di lingua, 1968)

Battiferri degli Ammannati, Laura, *Il Primo libro delle opere toscane*, ed. by Enrico Maria Guidi (Urbino: Accademia Raffaello, Collana di Studi e Testi, 2000)

- *I sette salmi penitenziali di David con alcuni sonetti spirituali*, ed. by Enrico Maria Guidi (Urbino: Accademia Raffaello, Collana di Studi e Testi, 2005)

Battiferra degli Ammannati, Laura, *Laura Battiferra and her Literary Circle*, ed. and trans. by Victoria Kirkham (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2006)

Bigolina, Giulia, *Urania*, ed. by Valeria Finucci (Rome: Bulzoni, 2002)

- *Urania*, ed. and trans. Valeria Finucci (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005)

Boccalini, Traiano, *Ragguagli di Parnaso e scritti minori*, ed. by Luigi Firpo (Bari: Gius. Laterza e Figli, 1948)

Bramanti, Vanni, ed., *Lettere a Benedetto Varchi (1530-1563)* (Rome: Vecchiarelli editore, 2012)

Bufalini, Francesca Turina, 'Le Rime Spirituali di Francesca Turina Bufalini', *Letteratura italiana antica*, 6 (2005), 147-223

Bufalini, Francesca Turrini, 'Le Rime di Francesca Turrini Bufalini', ed. by Paolo Bà, *Letteratura italiana antica*, 11 (2010), 141-276

Bufalini, Francesca Turini, *Autobiographical poems: a bilingual edition*, ed. by Natalia Costa-Zalessow, trans. by Joan E. Borelli with Natalia Costa-Zalessow (New York: Bordighera Press, 2009)

Campiglia, Maddalena, *Flori, a pastoral drama*, ed. by Virginia Cox and Lisa Sampson, trans. By Virginia Cox (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2004)

Carafa, Ferrante, *I sei libri della Carafe di Ferrante Carrafa marchese di San Lucido sopra varij, & diuersi soggetti, ad imitatione di poeti lirici, greci, & latini* (Aquila: Giosepe Cacchij, 1580)

Caro, Annibal, *De le lettere familiari del commendatore Annibal Caro. Volume secondo* (Venice: Aldus, 1575)

Castiglione, Baldassare, *Il libro del cortegiano*, 6th edn, ed. by Giulio Carnazzi and introduced by Salvatore Battaglia (Milan: BUR Rizzoli, 2010)

Colonna, Vittoria, *Rime della diva Vettoria [sic] Colonna... aggiuntovi XXIII soneti spirituali* (Venice: per Comin da Trino, ad instantia de Nicolo d'Aristotile detto Zoppino, 1540)

- *Rime della diva Vettoria [sic] Colonna ... novamente aggiuntovi XXIII soneti spirituali* (Venice: Giovanni Andrea e Florio Valvassori).
- *Le rime spirituali della illustrissima signora Vittoria Colonna Marchesana di Pescara. Non piu stampate da pochissime infuori, le quali altrove corrotte, e qui corrette si leggono* (Venice: Vincenzo Valgrisi, 1546)
- *Le Rime della Sig. Vittoria Colonna* (Venice: Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari et fratelli, 1552)
- *Rime*, ed. by Alan Bullock (Rome and Bari: Giu. Laterza e figli, 1982)
- *Sonetti in morte di Francesco Ferrante d'Avalos Marchese di Pescara*, ed. by Tobia R. Toscano (Milan: Editoriale Giorgio Mondadori, 1998)
- *Sonnets for Michelangelo. A Bilingual Edition*, ed. and trans. by Abigail Brundin (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2005)

Cooke, Robert, *The Exemplary Lives and Memorable Acts of Nine The Most Worthy Women of the World* (London: Tho. Cotes for Richard Royston, 1640)

D'Aragona, Tullia, *Rime della signora Tullia d'Aragona, e di diversi a lei* (Venice: Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari, 1549)

- *Le rime di Tullia d'Aragona. Cortigiana del secolo XVI*, ed. by Enrico Celani, (Bologna: Commissione per i testi di lingua, 1981)
- *D'Aragona, Tullia, Dialogue on the Infinity of Love*, ed. and trans. by Rinaldina Russell and Bruce Marry (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1997)
- *The Poems and Letters of Tullia d'Aragona and Others*, ed. by Julia L. Hairston (Toronto: Iter, 2004)

Da Catharo Dalmatiano, Ludovico Paschale, *Rime Volgari non più date in luce* (Venezia, 1549), ed. by Luciana Borsetto (Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso, 2016)

De Coignard, Gabrielle, *Spiritual Sonnets. A Bilingual Edition*, ed. and trans. by Melanie E. Gregg (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2004)

De Covarrubias, Sebastián, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana* (Madrid: Luis Sanchez, 1611)

De Herrera, Fernando, *Anotaciones a la poesía de Garcilaso*, ed. by Inoria Pepe and José María Reyes (Madrid: Ediciones Cátedra, 2001)

Della Casa, Giovanni, *Rime*, ed. by Stefano Carrai (Turin: Giulio Einaudi editore, 2003)

Della Chiesa, Francesco Agostino, *Theatro delle donne letterate. Con un breve discorso della Preeminenza, e perfettione del sesso donnesco* (Mondovi: Giovanni Gissandi e Gio. Tomaso Rossi, 1620)

De Marquets, Anne, *Sonets spirituels*, ed. by Gary Ferguson (Geneva: Droz, 1997)

Des Roches, Madeleine and Catherine des Roches, *Les oeuvres: Madeleine Des Roches, Catherine Des Roches*, ed. by Anne R. Larsen (Geneva: Droz, 1993)

- *Les Secondes Oeuvres*, ed. by Anne R. Larsen (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1998)

De Vega, Lope, *La Viuda Valenciana*, ed. by Teresa Ferrer Valls (Madrid: Clásicos Castalia, 2001)

- *Laurel de Apolo*, ed. by Antonio Carreño (Madrid: Cátedra, 2007)
- *La Dorotea*, ed. by Donald McGrady (Madrid: Real Academia Española, 2011)

Di Falco, Benedetto, *Descrittione dei luoghi antichi di Napoli e del suo amenissimo distretto*, ed. by Tobia R. Toscano, text ed. by Marcella Grippo (Naples: CUEN, 1992)

Di Tarsia, Galeazzo, *Canzoniere*, ed. by Pasquino Crupi (Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino, 2002)

Dolce, Lodovico, *Vita di Carlo V* (Venice: Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrarii, 1567)

- *Dialogo della institution delle donne, secondo li tre stati che cadono nella vita umana*, ed. by Helena Sanson (Cambridge: Modern Humanities Research Association, 2015)

Domenichi, Ludovico, *Rime*, ed. by Roberto Cigliucci (Turin: RES, 2004)

Doni, Anton Francesco, *Lettere di M. Antonfrancesco Doni, Libro primo* (Venice: Girolamo Scotto, 1545)

- *La Zucca del Doni* (Venice: Francesco Marcolini, 1551)

Draud, Georg, *Bibliotheca exotica, sine Catalogus officinalis librorum peregrinus linguis usualibus scriptorum, videlicet Gallica, Italica, Hispanica, Belgica, Anglica, Danica, Bohemica, Ungarica & omnium quotquot* (Frankfurt: Balthasar Ostern, 1625)

Du Guillet, Pernette, *Complete Poems. A Bilingual Edition*, ed. by Karen Simroth Jones and trans. by Marta Rijn Finch (Toronto: Iter, Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2010)

Floris, Gonaria and Luisa Mulas, eds, *Lettere a Pietro Aretino* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1997)

Fonte, Moderata, *Il merito delle donne*, ed. by Adriana Chemello (Venice: Eidos, 1988)

- *The worth of women: wherein is clearly revealed their nobility and their superiority to men*, ed. by Virginia Cox (London: University of Chicago Press, 1997)
- *Floridoro, A Chivalric Romance*, ed. by Valeria Finucci and trans. by Julia Kisacky (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2006)

Franco, Veronica, *Poems and Selected Letters*, ed. and trans. by Ann Rosalind Jones and Margaret F. Rosenthal (Chicago and London: Chicago University Press, 1998)

Fuscano, Ioan Berardino, *Stanze sovra la bellezza di Napoli*, ed. by Cristiana Anna Addesso (Naples: Edizioni scientifiche italiane, 2007)

Gambara, Veronica, *Rime e lettere*, ed. by Pia Mestica Chiappetti (Florence: G. Barbera, 1879)

Gambara, Veronica, *Le rime*, ed. by Alan Bullock (Florence: Olschki, 1995)

Gambara, Veronica, *Complete Poems: A Bilingual Edition*, ed. and trans. by Molly M. Martin and Paola Ugolini (Toronto: Iter inc. and the Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2014)

Garzoni, Tomaso, *Le vite delle donne illustri della scrittura sacra. Con l'aggiunta delle vite delle donne oscure e laide dell'uno e l'altro Testamento. E un Discorso in fine sopra la nobiltà delle donne*, ed. by Beatrice Collina (Ravenna: Longo Editore, 1994)

Giovio, Paolo, *Notable Men and Women of Our Time*, ed. and trans. by Kenneth Gouwens (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 2013)

Gonzaga, Lucrezia, *Lettere con Appendice di nuovi documenti*, ed. by Renzo Bragantini and Primo Griguolo (Rovigo: Minelliana, 2009)

Henry, Earl of Monmouth (trans.), *I Ragguagli di Parnasso: or, Advertisements from Parnassus*, Trajano Boccalini (London: Humphrey Moseley, 1657)

- *I Ragguagli di Parnasso: or, Advertisements from Parnassus*, second edition, Trajano Boccalini (London: T. DRing, J. Starkey, and T. Basset, 1669)

Labé, Louise, *Complete Poetry and Prose*, ed. by Deborah Lesko Baker (London and Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014)

Lando, Ortensio, ed., *Lettere di molte valorose donne* (Venice: Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari, 1548)

Lanyer, Aemilia, *The Poems of Aemilia Lanyer. Salve Deus Rex Judaeorum*, ed. by Susanne Woods (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993)

Machiavelli, Niccolò, *Il Principe*, ed. by Giorgio Inglese (Turin: Einaudi, 1995)

Mantegna, Giovanni Alfonso, *Rime*, ed. by Maria Rosaria Bifulco (Rome: Biblioteca Italiana, 2005)

Marimonti, Giuseppe, *Memorie storiche della città di Monza* (Monza: Luca Corbetta 1851)

Marinella, Lucrezia, *The Nobility and Excellence of Women, and the Defects and Vices of Men*, ed. and trans. by Anne Dunhill, intro. by Letizia Panizza (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1999)

- *Enrico; or, Byzantium Conquered*, ed. and trans. by Mari Galli Stampino (Chicago and London: Chicago University Press, 2009)

Matraini, Chiara, *Rime et prose di madonna Chiara Matraini gentildonna lucchese* (Lucca: Busdraghi, 1555)

- *Considerationi sopra i sette salmi penitentiali del gran re, e profeta David. Di M. Chiara Matraini* (Lucca: Vincenzo Busdraghi, 1586)

- *Rime e lettere*, ed. by Giovanna Rabitti (Bologna: Commissione per i testi di lingua, 1989)
 - *Selected Poetry and Prose: A Bilingual Edition*, ed. and trans. by Elaine MacLachlan, with an introduction by Giovanna Rabitti (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2007)
 - *Le opere in prose e altre poesia*, ed. by Anna Mario (Perugia: Aguaplano, 2017)
- Mazzuchelli, Giammaria, *La vita di Pietro Aretino* (Padua: Giuseppe Comino, 1741)
- Minturno, Antonio, *Lettere di Meser Antonio Minturno* (Venice: Girolamo Scotto, 1549)
- Morata, Olympia, *The Complete Writings of an Italian Heretic*, ed. and trans. by Holt N. Parker (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2003)
- Parrino, Domenico Antonio, *Teatro eroico e politico de' governi de' Vicere del Regno di Napoli dal tempo del re Ferdinando il Cattolico Fin'all anno 1683* (Naples: Francesco Ricciardo, 1730)
- Passi, Giuseppe, *I donneschi diffetti* (Venice: Iacobo Antonio Somascho, 1599)
- Petrarch, Francesco, *Petrarch's Lyric Poems. The Rime Sparse and Other Lyrics*, trans. and ed. by Robert M. Durling (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 1976)
- *Canzoniere*, ed. by Marco Santagata (Milan: Arnoldo Mondadori Editore, 1996)
- Picca, Gregorio, *Rime in lode de la santita di n. signor papa Paolo IIII. Del reverendissimo cardinal Caraffa, & d'altri illustrissimi signori, composte per m. Gregorio Piccha da Calderola* (unknown: unknown, 1555?)
- *Oratione per la Guerra contra Turchi à Sisto Quinto Pont. Massimo, et à gl'altri Prencipi Christiani* (Rome: nelle case del Popolo Romano, 1589)
- Rota, Berardino, *Sonetti del s. Berardino Rota in morte della sra. Porta Capece sua moglie* (Naples: Mattia Cancer, 1560)
- *Rime*, ed. by Luca Milite (Parma: Fondazione Pietro Bembo/Ugo Guanda Editore, 2000)
- Rummel, Erika, ed., *The Erasmus Reader* (Toronto, Buffalo and London: University of Toronto Press, 1990)
- Ruscelli, Girolamo, *Le imprese illustri del s.or Ieronimo Ruscelli. Aggiuntovi nuovamente il quarto libro da Vincenzo Ruscelli da Viterbo* (Venice: Francesco de Franceschi senesi, 1584)

- *Lettere*, ed. by Chiara Gizzi and Paolo Procaccioli (Rome: Vecchiarelli editore, 2010)

Sarrocchi, Margherita, *Scanderbeide. The Heroic Deeds of George Scanderbeg, King of Epirus*, ed. and trans. by Rinaldina Russell (Chicago and London: Chicago University Press, 2006)

Stampa, Gaspara, *Rime di Madonna Gaspara Stampa* (Venice: Plinio Pietrasanta, 1554)

- *Rime*, ed. by Maria Bellonci and Rodolfo Ceriello (Milan: Biblioteca Universale Rizzoli, 1994)
- *The Complete Poems: The 1554 Edition of the "Rime", a Bilingual Edition*, ed. by Troy Tower and Jane Tylus, trans. by Jane Tylus (Chicago and London: Chicago University Press, 2010)

Tansillo, Luigi, *Sonetti per la presa d'Africa. E'l disegno d'una collana d'oro* (Naples: [Mattia Cancer], [1551])

- *Stanze di Luigi Tansillo* (Naples: Mathio Cancer, ad instantia de Marco Antonio Passaro, 1558)
- *Rime*, ed. by Tobia Toscano (Rome: Bulzoni Editore, 2011)

Tasso, Bernardo, *Le lettere di M. Bernardo Tasso* (Venice: Vincenzo Valgrisi, 1551)

- *Rime*, ed. by Domenico Chiodo, 2 vols (Turin: Edizioni Res, 1995)
- *Lettere*, ed. by Donatella Rassi and Adriana Chemello (Sala Bolognese: A. Forni, 2002)

Tasso, Torquato, *Discorso della virtù femminile e donnesca*, ed. by Maria Luisa Doglio (Palermo: Sellerio Editore, 1997)

Tomasi, Franco and Paolo Zaja, eds, *Rime di molti eccellentissimi autori (Giolito 1545)* (Turin: Edizioni RES, 2001)

Varchi, Benedetto, *I sonetti di M. Benedetto Varchi, nuovamente messi in luce* (Venice: Plinio Pietrasanta, 1555)

- *De' sonetti di M. Benedetto Varchi colle risposte, e proposte di diversi, Parte seconda* (Florence: Lorenzo Torrentino, 1557)
- *Lettere 1535-1565*, ed. by Vanni Bramanti (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 2008)

Vives, J.L. *De Institutione Feminae Christianae*, ed. by C. Fantazzi and C. Mattheussen, trans. by C. Fantazzi (Leiden, New York, Cologne: E.J. Brill, 1996)

Willer, Georg, *Collecio in unum corpus, omnium librorum hebræorum, græcorum, latinorum nec non germanice, italic, Gallicè, & Hispanicè scriptorium, qui in nundinis Francofurtensibus ab anno 1564 usque nundinas Autumnales anni 1592* (Frankfurt: Nicolai Bassaei, 1592)

Lettere volgari di diversi nobilissimi huomini, et eccelletissimi ingegni, scritte in diverse materie (Venice: Aldo Manuzio, 1551)

Lettere volgari di diversi nobilissimi uomini, et eccellentiss. ingegni, scritte in diverse materie... Libro primo (Venice: Aldus, 1554)

Rime di diversi ecc. autori, in vita, e in morte dell'ill. S. Livia Col. (Rome: Antonio Barrè, ad instantia di M. Francesco Christiani, 1555)

Lettere volgari di diversi nobilissimi huomini, eccellentissimi ingegni, scritte in diverse materie (Venice: Aldo Manuzio, 1556)

De le rime di diversi eccellentissimi autori. Nuovamente raccolte, libro primo (Lucca: Vincenzo Busdraghi, 1556)

Rime di diversi, et eccellenti autori. Raccolte da i libri da noi altre volte impressi, tra le quali, se ne leggono molte non piu vedute, di nuovo ricorrette e ristampate (Venice: Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari, et fratelli, 1556)

Rime diverse d'alcune nobilissime, et virtuosissime donne, raccolte per m. Lodovico Domenichi, ed. by Ludovico Domenichi (Lucca: Vincenzo Busdragho, 1559)

Rime di diversi nobilissimi et eccellentissimi autori. In morte della Signora Irene delle Signore di Spilimbergo. Alle quali si sono aggiunti versi Latini di diversi egregii Poeti, in morte della medesima Signor (Venice: Domenico & Gio. Battista Guerra, fratelli, 1561)

Il primo libro della raccolta di napolitane à tre voci, di diversi eccellentissimi musici (Venice: Girolamo Scotto, 1570)

Imitations de quelques chans de l'Arioste, par divers poetes François, nommez en la quatrieme page suyvante (Paris: Lucas Breyer, 1572)

Illustrium mulierum et illustrium litteris virorum elogia (Naples: Io. Iacobum Carlium and Constantium Vitalem, 1608)

Diccionario de Autoridades (Madrid: Real Academia Española, 1726-1739)

Rimatori napoletani del Quattrocento, ed. by Antonio Altamura (Naples: Fausto Fiorentino editore, 1962)

Secondary sources

Acucella, Cristina, 'Luna, Endimione e la "morte nel bacio". Poetiche e filosofie a confronto in alcune decilazioni cinquecentesche del mito,' *Griseldaonline*, XIV (2014), 1-18

Adler, Sara Maria, 'Veronica Franco's Petrarchan *Terze rime*: Subverting the Master's Plan', *Italica*, 65 (1988), 213-33

- 'Strong Mothers, Strong Daughters: The Representation of Female Identity in Vittoria Colonna's Rime and Carteggio', *Italica*, 77 (2000), 311-30
- 'Vittoria Colonna: Michelangelo's Perfect Muse', *Italica*, 92 (2015), 5-32

Adorni-Braccesi, Simonetta, <<Una città infetta>>: *La repubblica di Lucca nella crisi religiosa del Cinquecento* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1994)

Agnelli, Giuseppe, and Giuseppe Ravegnani, *Annali delle edizioni ariostee*, vol I (Bologna: Nicola Zanichelli editore, 1993)

Agoston, Laura Camille, 'Male/Female, Italy/Flanders, Michelangelo/Vittoria Colonna', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 58 (2005), 1175-1219

Allen, Prudence and Filippo Salvatore, 'Lucrezia Marinella and Woman's Identity in the Late Italian Renaissance', *Renaissance and Reformation*, 16 (1992), 5-39

Altamura, Antonio, *La lirica napoletana del Quattrocento* (Naples: Società Editrice Napoletana, 1978)

Amabile, Luigi, *Il Santo Ufficio della Inquisizione in Napoli* (Città di Castello: S. Lapi, 1892)

Anselmi, Gian Mario, 'I percorsi (e i travagli) dei generi letterari: tradizione italiana e cultura europea tra Medioevo e Rinascimento', in *Letteratura e civiltà tra Medioevo e Umanesimo* (Rome: Carocci editore, 2011), pp.213-222

Antes, Monika, *Tullia d'Aragona, cortigiana e filosofa* (Florence: Polistampa, 2011)

Ardissino, Erminia and Elisabetta Selmi, *Poesia e retorica del sacro tra Cinque e Seicento* (Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso, 2009)

Ascarelli, Fernanda, and Marco Menato, *La tipografia del '500 in Italia* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1989)

Ascoli, Albert Russell and Unn Falkeid, eds, *The Cambridge Companion to Petrarch* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015)

Astarita, Tommaso, *The Continuity of Feudal Power. The Caracciolo of Brienza in Spanish Naples* (Cambridge: CUP, 1992)

Astarita, Tommaso, ed., *A Companion to Early Modern Naples* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2013)

Axon, William E.A., *Tullia d'Aragona, A Poetess of the Later Renaissance*, Transactions R.S.L., XXI (London: 1900)

Bà, Paolo, ed., 'Le Rime spirituali di Francesca Turina Bufalini', *Letteratura italiana antica*, 6 (2005), 147-223

- 'Il mondo di Francesca Turina Bufalini e le sue Rime Spirituali', *Letteratura italiana antica*, 8 (2007), 485-94

Baldissoni, Giusi, *Benedetta Beatrice. Nomi femminili e destini letterari* (Milan: Francoangeli, 2008)

Balduino, Armando, 'Petrarchismo veneto e tradizione manoscritta', in *Petrarca, Venezia e il Veneto*, ed. Giorgio Padoan (Florence: Leo S. Olschki editore, 1976), pp.243-70

Balsano, Maria Antonella, ed., *L'Ariosto, la musica, i musicisti. Quattro studi e sette madrigali ariosteschi* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki editore, 1981)

Bamji, Alexandra, Geert H. Janssen and Mary Laven, eds, *The Ashgate Research Companion to the Counter-Reformation* (London and New York: Routledge, 2013)

Barducci, Marco, 'Dopo Lepanto. Il Turco negli scritti politici italiani di fine Cinquecento', *Il Pensiero Politico*, 41 (2008), 19-43

Bareggi, Claudia di Filippo, 'Giunta, Doni, Torrentino: tre tipografie fiorentine', *Rivista storica*, 58 (1074), 318-48.

Barnard, Mary E., *Garcilaso de la Vega and the Material Culture of Renaissance Europe* (Toronto, Buffalo and London: University of Toronto Press, 2014)

Barnstein, P. Renée and Julia L. Hairston, 'Tullia d'Aragona: Two New Sonnets', *MLN*, 123 (2008), 151-59

Barolini, Teodolinda, 'Dante and Francesca da Rimini: Realpolitik, Romance, Gender', *Speculum*, 75 (2000), 1-28

- 'Lifting the Veil? Notes toward a Gendered History of Early Italian Literature', in Teodolinda Barolini, ed., *Medieval Constructions in Gender and Identity. Essays in Honor of Joan M. Ferrante* (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2005), pp.169-88

Bassanese, Fiora A., *Gaspara Stampa* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1982)

- 'Gaspara Stampa's Poetics of Negativity', *Italica*, 61 (1984), 335-46
- 'What's in a Name? Self-Naming and Renaissance Women Poets', *Annali d'Italianistica*, 7 (1989), 104-15
- 'Gaspara Stampa's Petrarchan Commemorations: Validating a Female Lyric Discourse', *Annali d'Italianistica*, 22 (2004), 155-69

Bausi, Francesco, ' "Con agra zampogna". Tullia d'Aragona a Firenze (1545-48)', *Schede umanistiche*, 5 (1993), 61-91

- 'Le rime di e per Tullia d'Aragona' in *Les femmes écrivains en Italie au moyen âge et à la Renaissance: Actes du colloque international, Aix-en-Provence, 12, 13, 14 novembre 1992* (Aix-en-Provence: Publications de l'Université de Provence, 1994), pp.275-92

Blanc, Pierre, ed., *Dynamique d'une expansion culturelle. Pétrarque en Europe XIV^e – XX^e siècle. Actes du XXVI^e congrès international du CEFI, Turin et Chambéry, 1 – 15 décembre 1995* (Paris: Honoré Champion Éditeur, 2001)

Bramanti, Vanni, 'Sull'ultimo decennio "fiorentino" di Lodovico Domenichi', *Schede umanistiche*, I (2001), 31-48

Bedani, Gino, Zygmunt Baranski, Anna Laura Lepschy and Brian Richardson, eds, *Sguardi sull'Italia: Miscellanea dedicata a Francesco Villari dalla Society for Italian Studies* (Exeter: Society for Italian Studies, 1997)

- Virginia Cox, 'Women as Readers and Writers of Chivalric Poetry in Early Modern Italy', pp.134-45
- Letizia Panizza, 'Women and Books in Renaissance Italy: Exhibition in the King's Gallery, The British Library, Great Russell Street, London WC1B 3DG. April 1994-March 1995', pp.84-116

Beecher, Donald, Massimo Ciavolella and Roberto Fedi, eds, *Ariosto Today. Contemporary Perspectives* (Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press, 2003)

Benedetti, Laura, Julia L. Hairston and Silvia M. Ross, eds, *Gendered Contexts: New Perspectives in Italian Cultural Studies* (New York: Peter Lang, 1996)

- Robert J. Rodini, 'Post-Petrarchism and the Language(s) of Desire', pp.69-78
- Olivia E. Sears, 'Choosing Battles? Women's War Poetry in Renaissance Italy', pp.79-91

Benson, Pamela Joseph, 'An Unrecognized Defender of Women in the *Orlando Furioso*', *Italica*, 57 (1980), 268-70

- *The Invention of Renaissance Woman: The Challenge of Female Independence in Literature and Thought in Italy and England* (Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1992)

Bentley, Jerry H., *Politics and Culture in Renaissance Naples* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987)

Berger, Harry Jr., *The Absence of Grace. Sprezzatura and Suspicion in Two Renaissance Courtesy Books* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000)

Bernstein, Jane A., *Music Printing in Renaissance Venice: The Scotto Press (1539-1572)* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998)

Bettella, Patrizia, *The Ugly Woman. Transgressive Aesthetic Models in Italian Poetry from the Middle Ages to the Baroque* (Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press, 2005)

Biagioli, Mario, 'Knowledge, Freedom, and Brotherly Love: Homosociality and the Accademia dei Lincei', *Configurations*, 3 (1995), 139-66

Black, Robert, *Machiavelli* (London and New York: Routledge, 2013)

Bo, Carlo, ed., *Lirici del Cinquecento* (Milan: Garzanti, 1941)

Bolzoni, Lina, "'O maledetto, o abominoso ordigno': la rappresentazione della guerra nel poema epico-cavalleresco', in *Storia d'Italia. Annali 18. Guerra e pace*, ed. by Walter Barberis (Turin: Giulio Einaudi editore, 2002), pp.201-50

- *Poesia e ritratto nel rinascimento*, texts ed. by Federica Pich (Bari: Editori Laterza, 2007)
- *Il cuore di cristallo. Ragionamenti d'amore, poesia e ritratto nel rinascimento* (Turin: Giulio Einaudi editore, 2010)

Bolzoni, Lina, Serena Pezzini and Giovanna Rizzarelli, <<*Tra mille carte vive ancora*>>. *Ricezione del Furioso tra immagini e parole* (Lucca: Maria Pacini Fazzi editore, 2010)

- Gianluca Genovese, 'Ariosto a Napoli: Vicende della ricezione del *Furioso* negli anni Trenta e Quaranta del Cinquecento', pp.339-56

Bongi, Salvatore, *Annali di Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari da Trino di Monferrato, stampatore in Venezia* (Rome: Presso i principali librai, 1890-95)

Bongrani, P., 'La fortuna del Bembo a Napoli e altri temi di storia linguistica rinascimentale', *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, 166 (1989), 105-15

Borzelli, Angelo, *Laura Terracina, poetessa napoletana del Cinquecento* (Naples: M. Marzano, 1924)

- Marcantonio Passero. *Libraio nel 500 napoletano* (Naples: Aldo Lubrano, 1941)

Bosse, Monika and André Stoll, eds, *Napoli viceregno spagnolo. Una capitale della cultura alle origini dell'europa moderna (sec. XVI-XVII)* (Naples: Vivarium, 2001)

Bradbury, Jonathan David, 'Anton Francesco Doni and his *Librerie*: Bibliographical Friend or Fiend?', *Forum for Modern Language Studies*, 45 (2008), 90-107

Braden, Gordon, 'Gaspara Stampa and the Gender of Petrarchism', *Texas Studies in Literature and Language* 38 (1996), 115-139

Brand, C.P., *Ludovico Ariosto. A Preface to the 'Orlando Furioso'* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1974)

Bresciano, G., 'Ricerche bibliografiche. I. Di tre rarissime edizioni napoletane del sec. XVI sconosciute ai bibliografi', in *Revue des bibliothèques*, IX (1899), 21-34

Brotton, Jerry, *The Renaissance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006)

Brown, Cynthia J., *Poets, Patrons, and Printers. Crisis of Authority in Late Medieval France* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1995)

Brown, Horatio F., *The Venetian Printing Press: An [sic] Historical Study Based upon Documents for the Most Part Hitherto Unpublished* (London: John C. Nimmo, 1891)

Brown, Judith C. and Robert C. Davis, *Gender and Society in Renaissance Italy* (London and New York: Longman, 1998)

Brundin, Abigail, 'Vittoria Colonna and the Poetry of Reform', *Italian Studies* 57 (2002), 61-74

- ' 'Presto fia 'l mio potere in farvi onore': Renaissance women poets and the importance of praise,' in *Caro Vitto. Essays in Memory of Vittore Branca*, ed. Jill Kraye and Laura Lepschy, *The Italianist* 27, special supplement 2 (2007), 133-49
- *Vittoria Colonna and the Spiritual Poetics of the Italian Reformation* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 2008)
- 'Composition "a due": Lyric Poetry and Scribal Practice in Sixteenth-Century Italy', in *Renaissance Studies in Honor of Joseph Connors*, ed. by Machtelt Israels and Louis Waldman, 2 vols (Florence: Olschki, 2013), pp.496-504

Brundin, Abigail, Tatiana Crivelli and Maria Serena Sapegno, eds, *A Companion to Vittoria Colonna* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2016)

Brundin, Abigail, and Matthew Treherne, *Forms of Faith in Sixteenth-Century Italy* (Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate, 2009)

Bullock, Alan, 'Veronica o Vittoria? Problemi di attribuzione per alcuni sonetti del Cinquecento', *Studi e problemi di critica testuale*, 6 (1973), 115-31

- 'Vittoria Colonna e i lirici minori del Cinquecento: quattro secoli di attribuzioni contraddittorie', *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana*, 157 (1980), 383-402

Cabani, Maria Cristina, *Ariosto. I volgari e i latini suoi* (Lucca: maria pacini fazzi editore, 2016)

Calitti, Floriana, *Fra lirica e narrativa: Storia dell'ottava rima nel Rinascimento* (Florence: Le Càriti Editore, 2004)

Calitti, Floriana and Roberto Gigliucci, eds, *Il Petrarchismo. Un modello di poesia per l'Europa* (Rome: Bulzoni editore, 2006)

Calvino, Italo, *Orlando Furioso di Ludovico Ariosto* (Milan: Mondadori, 2010)

Cambria, Adele, *Isabella. La triste storia di Isabella Morra. Le Rime della poetessa di Valsinni* (Potenza: Osanna, 1996)

Campbell, Julie, *Literary Circles and Gender in Early Modern Europe: A Cross-Cultural Approach* (Aldershot and Burlington : Ashgate, 2006)

Campbell, Julie D. and Anne R. Larsen, *Early Modern Women and Transnational Communities of Letters* (Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate, 2009)

Campbell, Julie D. and Maria Galli Stampino, eds, *In Dialogue with the Other Voice in Sixteenth-Century Italy: Literary and Social Contexts for Women's Writing* (Toronto: Iter Inc. and Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2011)

Campeggiani, Ida, *L'ultimo Ariosto. Dalle Satire ai Frammenti autografi* (Pisa: Edizioni della Normale, 2017)

Cantagalli, Cantagalli, *La guerra di Siena (1552-1559): I termini della questione senese nella lotta tra Francia e Asburgo nel '500 e il suo risolversi nell'ambito del Principato mediceo*, Monografie di storia e letteratura senese 5 (Siena: Accademia senese degli Intronati, 1962)

Cantù, Francesca, and Maria Antonietta Visceglia, eds, *L'Italia di Carlo V: Guerra, religione e politica nel primo Cinquecento* (Rome: Viella, 2003)

Caracciolo, Daniela and Massimiliano Rossi, *Le sorti d'Orlando: illustrazioni e riscritture del Furioso* (Lucca: M. Pacini Fazzi, 2012)

Cardamone, Donna G., 'The Prince and Princess of Salerno and the Spanish Viceroy: Popular Songs of Exile', *Revista de Musicología*, 16 (1993), 2531-2541

- 'The Prince of Salerno and the Dynamics of Oral Transmission in Songs of Political Exile', *Acta Musicologica*, 67 (1995), 77-108

Carrai, Stefano, *I precetti di Parnaso. Metrica e generi nel Rinascimento italiano* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1999)

Cartier, Alfred, 'Les poètes de Louise Labé', *Revue d'Histoire Littéraire de la France*, I, (1894), 433-40

Cartwright, Kent, ed., *A Companion to Tudor Literature* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010)

Casadei, Alberto, *La strategia delle varianti: le correzioni storiche del terzo Furioso* (Lucca: M. Pacini Fazzi, 1988)

- 'Il finale e la poetica del Furioso', *Chroniques Italiennes*, 19 (2011), 1-21 <
<http://chroniquesitaliennes.univ-paris3.fr/PDF/web19/Casaseiweb19.pdf>>
[accessed 24 May 2018]

Casapullo, Rosa, 'Contatti metrici fra Spagna e Italia: Laura Terracina e la tecnica della glosa', *Atti del XXI Congresso internazionale di Linguistica e Filologia romanza* (Palermo, 18-24 settembre 1995), vol IV (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1998), pp. 361-89

Catto, Miehela, 'Creazione e trasformazione di un modello tardo-rinascimentale: Irene da Spilimbergo tra fonti letterarie e documentarie', *The Italianist*, 19 (1999), 50-76

Cavallo, Jo Ann, *The Romance Epics of Boiardo, Ariosto, and Tasso. From Public Duty to Private Pleasure* (Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press, 2004)

- *The World Beyond Europe in the Renaissance Epics of Boiardo and Ariosto* (Toronto, Buffalo and London: University of Toronto Press, 2013)

Cavallo, Sandra and Lyndan Warner, *Widowhood in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (London and New York: Routledge, 2014)

Cave, Terence, *Devotional Poetry in France, c.1570-1613* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969)

Chambers, D.S. and F. Quiviger, eds, *Italian Academies of the Sixteenth Century* (London: Warburg Institute, 1995)

Chang, Leah, *Into Print: The Production of Female Authorship in Early Modern France* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2009)

Chapelle Wojciehowski, Dolora, 'Veronica Franco vs. Maffio Venier: Sex, Death, and Poetry in Cinquecento Venice', *Italica*, 83 (2006), 367-90

Chartier, Roger, 'Culture as Appropriation: Popular Culture Uses in Early Modern France', in Steven L. Kaplan, ed., *Understanding Popular Culture: Europe from the Middle Ages to the Nineteenth Century* (Berlin, New York and Amsterdam: Mouton Publishers, 1984), pp.229-54

- *The Cultural Uses of Print in Early Modern France* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1987)
- *The Order of Books. Readers, Authors, and Libraries in Europe between the Fourteenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, trans. by Lydia G. Cochrane (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994)

Chastel, André, *The Sack of Rome, 1527*, trans. by Beth Archer (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1983)

Chimène Bateman, J., 'Amazonian Knots: Gender, Genre, and Ariosto's Women Warriors', *MLN*, 122 (2007), 1-23

Chines, Loredana, ed., *Il Petrarchismo. Un modello di poesia per l'Europa*, vol 1 (Rome: Bulzoni editore, 2006)

Clarke, Danielle, *The Politics of Early Modern Women's Writing* (Harlow: Pearson Education, 2001)

Clubb, Louise George and William G. Clubb, 'Building a Lyric Canon: Gabriel Giolito and the Rival Anthologists, 1545-1590. Part 1.' *Italica*, 68 (1991), 332-344

Cochrane, Eric, *Italy 1530-1630*, ed. by Julius Kirshner (London and New York: Longman, 1988)

Cohn, Samuel K. Jr, *Women in the Streets. Essays on Sex and Power in Renaissance Italy* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996)

Coller, Alexandra, 'The Sienese Accademia degli Intronati and its Female Interlocutors', *The Italianist*, 26 (2006), 223-46

Copello, Veronica, 'Il Dialogo Poetico tra Michelangelo e Vittoria Colonna', *Italian Studies*, 72 (2017), 271-81

Coronelli, Vincenzo, *Biblioteca universale sacro-profana, antico-moderna...* vol 6 (Venice: Gio. Batista Tramontin, 1706)

Corsaro, Antonio, 'Dionigi Atanagi e la silloge per Irene di Spilimbergo. (Intorno alla formazione del giovane Tasso)', *Italica*, 75 (1998), 41-61

Costa, Gustavo, *La leggenda dei secoli d'oro nella letteratura italiana* (Bari: Editori Laterza, 1972)

Costa-Zalessow, Natalia, 'Su due sonetti del Cinquecento attribuiti a L. Terracina', *Forum Italicum*, 15 (1981), 22-30

- *Scrittrici italiane dal XIII al XX secolo. Testi e critica* (Ravenna: Longo editore, 1982)

Cox, Virginia, 'Sixteenth-Century Women Petrarchists and the Legacy of Laura', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 35 (2005), 583-606

- *Women's Writing in Italy 1400-1650* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008)
- *The Prodigious Muse: Women's Writing in Counter-Reformation Italy* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011)
- *Lyric Poetry by Women of the Italian Renaissance* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013)

Cox, Virginia and Chiara Ferrari, eds, *Verso un storia di genere della letteratura italiana: Percorsi critici e gender studies* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2012)

Crane, Mary Thomas, *Framing Authority: Sayings, Self, and Society in Sixteenth-Century England* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993)

Croce, Benedetto, 'La casa di una poetessa (Laura Terracina)', *Napoli nobilissima. Rivista di topografia ed arte napoletana*, X (1901), 129-38

- *Storie e leggende napoletane* (Bari: Gius. Laterza e Figli, 1919)
- 'L'Accademia dei Sereni', *Archivio storico per le province napoletane*, 44 (1919), 368-74
- *Curiosità Storiche* (Naples: R. Ricciardi, 1921)
- *Storia del regno di Napoli* (Bari: G. Laterza e Figli, 1925)
- *Aneddoti di varia letteratura*, vol 1 (Bari: Gius. Laterza e Figli, 1953)
- *History of the Kingdom of Naples*, ed. by H. Stuart Hughes and trans. by Frances Frenaye (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1970)

Cruz, Anne J. and Rosilie Hernández, *Women's Literacy in Early Modern Spain and the New World* (Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate, 2001)

D'Addario, Arnaldo, *Il problema sensesese nella storia italiana della prima metà del Cinquecento (La guerra di Siena)* (Florence: Felice Le Monnier, 1958)

Dagostini, Alessandra, *Degno il sepulcro, se fu cil la cuna. L'universo poetico di Isabella Morra* (Castellamare di Stabia (Naples): Nicola Longobardi Editore, 2001)

Dandeleit, Thomas James, *The Renaissance of Empire in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014)

Dandeleit, Thomas James and John A. Marino, *Spain in Italy. Politics, Society, and Religion 1500-1700* (Leiden: Brill, 2006)

Darnton, Robert, 'What Is the History of Books?', *Daedalus* 3 (1982), 65-83.

- "'What Is the History of Books?' Revisited', *Modern Intellectual History*, 4 (2007), 495-508

Datta, Satya, *Women and Men in Early Modern Venice* (Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate, 2003)

De Giovanni, Neria, ed., *Isabella Morra e la Poesia del Rinascimento Europeo* (Alghero: Nemapress, 2001)

Degl'Innocenti, Luca, Brian Richardson and Chiara Sbordonì, eds, *Interactions between Orality and Writing in Early Modern Italian Culture* (London: Routledge, 2016)

De Reumont, Alfred, *The Carafas of Maddaloni: Naples Under Spanish Dominion* (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1854)

De Seta, Cesare, *Storia della città di Napoli. Dalle origini al Settecento* (Rome and Bari: Laterza, 1973)

Di, Benedetto, Arnaldo, 'Un'introduzione al petrarchismo cinquecentesco', *Italica*, 83 (2006), 170-215

Di Crollanza, G.B., *Enciclopedia araldico-cavalleresca* (Pisa: unknown, 1876-1877)

- *Dizionario storico-blasonico delle famiglie nobili e notabili italiane, estinte e fiorenti* (Pisa: Direzione del Giornale Araldico, 1886)

Dialetti, Androniki, 'The Publisher Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari, Female Readers, and the Debate about Women in Sixteenth-Century Italy', *Renaissance and Reformation / Renaissance et Réforme*, 28 (2004), 5-32

Di Benedetto, Arnaldo, 'Un'introduzione al petrarchismo cinquecentesco', *Italica*, 83 (2006), 170-215

Dionisotti, Carlo, *Geografia e storia della letteratura italiana* (Turin: Einaudi, 1967 (1999 Piccola Biblioteca Einaudi edition))

Doglio, Maria Luisa, *Lettera e donna. Scrittura epistolare al femminile tra Quattro e Cinquecento* (Rome: Bulzoni Editore, 1993)

Doglio, Maria Luisa and Carlo Delcorno, eds, *Rime sacre del Petrarca al Tasso* (Bologna: Società editrice il Mulino, 2005)

Douglas, Mary, *Purity and Danger. An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (London: Routledge, 2002)

Dubois-Nayt, Armel, Nicole Dufournaud and Anne Pauport, *Revisiter la "querelle des femmes". Discours sur l'égalité/l'inégalité des sexes, de 1400 à 1600* (Saint-Étienne: Publications de l'Université de Saint-Étienne, 2013)

Durling, Robert M., *The Figure of the Poet in Renaissance Epic* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1965)

Dutschke, Dennis J., 'Il discorso tassiano 'De la virtù femminile e donnesca', *Studi tassiani*, 32 (1984), 5-28

Edelstein, Bruce L., 'Nobildonne napoletane e committenza: Eleonora d'Aragona e Eleonora di Toledo a confronto', *Quaderni storici*, 35 (2000), 295-329

Einstein, Alfred, 'Orlando Furioso and La Gerusalemme Liberata: As Set to Music during the 16th and 17th Centuries', *Notes*, 8 (1951), 623-30

Eisenbichler, Konrad, ed., *The Cultural Politics of Duke Cosimo I de' Medici* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001)

- 'Poetesse senese a eta Cinquecento: Tra politica e passione', *Studi rinascimentali*, 1 (2003), 95-102
- *The Sword and the Pen. Women, Politics and Poetry in Sixteenth-Century Siena* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2012)
- Ed., *The Cultural World of Eleonora de Toledo: Duchess of Florence and Siena* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016)

Eisenstadt, S.N. and Louis Roniger, 'Patron-Client Relations as a Model of Structuring Social Exchange', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 22 (1980), 42-77

Eliot, Simon and Jonathan Rose, eds, *A Companion to the History of the Book* (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2007)

Elton, G.R., ed., *The New Cambridge Modern History. Volume II. The Reformation 1520-1559* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958)

Eschrich, Gabriella Scarlatta, 'Women Writing Women in Lodovico Domenichi's Anthology of 1559', *Quaderni d'italianistica*, 30 (2009), 67-85

Evans, R.J.W. and Peter H. Wilson, eds, *The Holy Roman Empire, 1495-1806. A European Perspective* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2012)

Evans, R.J.W, Michael Schaich and Peter H. Wilson, eds, *The Holy Roman Empire 1495-1806* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011)

Everson, Jane, *The Italian Romance Epic in the Age of Humanism: The Matter of Italy and the World of Rome* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001)

Everson, Jane E., Denis V. Reidy and Lisa Sampson, *The Italian Academies 1525-1700: Networks of Culture, Innovation and Dissent* (Oxford: Legenda, 2016)

Ezell, Margaret J.M., *Writing Women's Literary History* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993)

- *Social Authorship and the Advent of Print* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999)
- 'The Laughing Tortoise: Speculations on Manuscript Sources and Women's Book History', *English Literary Renaissance*, 38 (2008), 331-55

Fahy, Conor, 'Three Early Renaissance Treatises on Women', *Italian Studies*, 11 (1956), 30-55

- 'Press and Pen Corrections in a 1534 Edition by Sebastianus Gryphius', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 28 (1966), 406-09
- 'Some Observations on the 1532 Edition of Ludovico Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*', *Studies in Bibliography*, 40 (1987), 72-85
- 'More on the 1532 Edition of Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*', *Studies in Bibliography*, 41 (1988), 225-32

Faini, Marco, 'La poetica dell'epica sacra tra Cinque e Seicento in Italia', *The Italianist*, 35 (2015), 27-60

- 'Reading, Devotion and Religious Print in Early Cinquecento Naples: The Case of Francesco Sovano's *Christiade*', *Italian Studies*, 72 (2017), 238-55

Falkeid, Unn and Aileen A. Feng, *Rethinking Gaspara Stampa in the Canon of Renaissance Poetry* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015)

Farnetti, Monica and Laura Fortini, eds, *Liriche del Cinquecento* (Guidonia Montecelio: Iacobellieditore, 2014)

Fatini, Giuseppe, 'Curiosità ariostesche. Intorno a un'elegia dell'Ariosto e un brano del *Furioso*', *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, 55 (1910), 77-98

Favaro, Maiko, *Dea del cielo o figlia di Eva? La donna nella cultura italiana fra Rinascimento e Controriforma* (Trieste: Museo Petrarcesco Piccolomineo, 2017)

Fedi, Roberto, *La Memoria della Poesia: Canzonieri, lirici e libri di rime nel rinascimento* (Rome: Salerno Editrice, 1990)

- 'From the "Auctor" to the Authors: Writing Lyrics in the Italian Renaissance', *Quaderni d'italianistica*, XVII (1996), 61-74

Feldman, Martha, 'The Academy of Domenico Venier, Music's Literary Muse in Mid-Cinquecento Venice', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 44 (1991), 476-512

- *City Culture and the Madrigal at Venice* (Berkeley and London: University of California Press, 1995)
- Fenster, Thelma S., and Clare A. Lees, *Gender in Debate from the Early Middle Ages to the Renaissance* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave, 2002)
- Ferguson, Margaret W., Maureen Quilligan, and Nancy J. Vickers, *Rewriting the Renaissance: The Discourses of Sexual Difference in Early Modern Europe* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1987)
- Ferroni, Giulio, *Ariosto* (Rome: Salerno, 2008)
- Ferroni, Giulio, and Amedeo Quondam, *La locuzione artificiosa. Teoria ed esperienza della lirica a Napoli nell'età del manierismo* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1973)
- Finucci, Valeria, ed., *Renaissance Transactions. Ariosto and Tasso* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1999)
- Finucci, Valeria, *The Lady Vanishes: Subjectivity and Representation in Castiglione and Ariosto* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992)
- 'La scrittura epico-cavalleresca al femminile: Moderata Fonte e "Tredici canti del Floridoro"', *Annali d'Italianistica*, 12 (1994), 203-31
- Firpo, M., 'Politica imperiale e vita religiosa in Italia nell'età di Carlo V', *Studi storici*, 42 (2001), 245-61
- Floro di Enzo, Salvatore, *Tasso a Napoli e il soggiorno claustrale* (Naples: Edizioni del Delfino, 1979)
- Flynn, Elizabeth A., and Patrocínio P. Schweickart, *Gender and Reading. Essays on Readers, Texts, and Contexts* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986)
- Fowler, Alistair, *Kinds of Literature. An Introduction to the Theory of Genres and Modes* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982)
- Franklin, Margaret, *Boccaccio's Heroines: Power and Virtue in Renaissance Society* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006)
- Frasca, Gabriele, *La furia della sintassi. La sestina in Italia* (Naples: Bibliopolis, 1992)
- Fregulia, Jeanette M., 'Widows, Legal Rights, and the Mercantile Economy of Early Modern Milan', *Early Modern Women*, 3 (2008), 233-38

Fubini, Mario, *Lezioni inedite sull'ottava*, ed. by Maria Cristina Cabani (Pisa: Edizioni della Normale, 2016)

Fumerton, Patricia and Simon Hunt, eds, *Renaissance Culture and the Everyday* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999)

Galasso, Giuseppe, *Alla periferia dell'impero: Il Regno di Napoli nel periodo spagnolo (secoli XVI-XVII)* (Turin: Giulio Einaudi editore, 1994)

Galbiati, Giuseppina Stella, *L'esperienza lirica di Giovanni della Casa* (Urbino: Editrice Montefeltro, 1978)

Gamberini, Andrea and Isabella Lazzarini, eds, *The Italian Renaissance State* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012)

Garavelli, Enrico, 'Lodovico Domenichi,' in *Autografi di letterati italiani. Il Cinquecento*, edited by Matteo Motolese, Paolo Procaccioli and Emilio Russo (Rome: Salerno editrice, 2013), pp.147-160

Genette, Gérard, *Seuils* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1987)

Genovese, Gianluca, 'Appunti sulla ricezione cinquecentesca del *Furioso* a Napoli,' *Annali dell'Università degli Studi Suor Orsola Benincasa di Napoli*, 2 (2009), 807-20

- "'D'oro, d'argento, di rame e false". Le "medaglie" di Anton Francesco Doni,' *Intersezioni*, 34 (2014), 35-53

Gerulaitis, Leonardus Vytautus, *Printing and Publishing in Fifteenth-Century Venice* (Chicago and London: American Library Association and Mansell Information/Publishing ltd., 1976)

Gianfrancesco, Lorenza, 'From Propaganda to Science: Looking at the World of Academies in Early Seventeenth-century Naples', *California Italian Studies*, 3 (2012)

Gilbert, Allan, ' "Orlando Furioso" as a Sixteenth-Century Text', *Italica*, 37 (1960), 239-56

Gilbert, Creighton E., 'What Did the Renaissance Patron Buy?', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 51 (1998), 392-450

Girardi, Raffaele, *Modelli e maniere: esperienze poetiche del Cinquecento meridionale* (Bari: Palomar, 1999)

Glauser, Vanessa, 'The Conquest of the Ancients: The Gender of Imitation in Louise Labé's *Euvres* and the "Escriz de divers poëtes, à la louenge de Louize Labé Lionnoize"', *Early Modern Women: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, 12 (2018), 54-75

Goethals, Jessica, 'Vanquished Bodies, Weaponized Words: Pietro Aretino's Conflicting Portraits of the Sexes and the Sack of Rome', *I Tatti studies*, 17 (2014), 55-79

Gonzaga, Berardo Candida, *Memorie delle famiglie nobili delle province meridionali d'Italia, volume III* (Naples: Cav. Gennaro de Angelis & son, 1876)

Gonzalez Miguel, J.-Graciliano, *Presencia napolitana en el siglo de oro español. Luigi Tansillo (1510-1568)* (Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 1979)

Gorni, Guglielmo, *Metrica e analisi letteraria* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1993)

Gorni, Guglielmo, Massimo Danzi and Silvia Longhi, *Poeti del Cinquecento. Tomo I. Poeti lirici, burleschi, satirici e didascalici* (Milan and Naples: Riccardo Ricciardi Editore, 2001)

Gouwens, Kenneth, 'Discourses of Vulnerability: Pietro Alcinio's Orations on the Sack of Rome', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 50 (1997), 38-77

- 'Female Virtue and the Embodiment of Beauty: Vittoria Colonna in Paolo Giovio's *Notable Men and Women*', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 68 (2015), 33-97

Graf, Arturo, *Attraverso il cinquecento* (Turin: Ermanno Loescher, 1916)

Gray, Floyd, *Gender, Rhetoric, and Print Culture in French Renaissance Writing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000)

Graziosi, Elisabetta, 'Arcadia femminile: presenze e modelli', *Filologia e critica*, 12 (1992), 321-58

Greene, Thomas M., *The Light in Troy. Imitation and Discovery in Renaissance Poetry* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1982)

Grendler, Paul F., *Critics of the Italian World 1530-1560. Anton Francesco Doni, Nicolò Franco & Ortensio Lando* (Madison, Milwaukee and London: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969)

- *The Roman Inquisition and the Venetian Press, 1540-1605* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977)

- *Schooling in Renaissance Italy: Literacy and Learning, 1300-1600* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989)
 - *Books and Schools in the Italian Renaissance* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1995)
- Grenfell, Michael, ed., *Pierre Bourdieu. Key Concepts* (Stocksfield: Acumen, 2008)
- Guarino, Gabriel, *Representing the King's Splendour. Communication and Reception of Symbolic Forms of Power in Viceregal Naples* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2010)
- Günsberg, Maggie, 'Donna Liberata? The Portrayal of Women in Italian Renaissance Epic', in *Women and Italy. Essays on Gender, Culture and History*, ed. by Zygmunt G. Baranski and Shirley W. Vindall (Basingstoke and London: Macmillan, 1991), pp.173-208
- Guthmüller, Bodo, 'Non taceremo più a lungo. Sul dialogo 'Il merito delle donne' di Moderata Fonte', *Filologia e critica*, 12 (1992), 258-79
- Haar, James, *Essays on Italian Poetry and Music in the Renaissance, 1350-1600* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1986)
- Hairston, Julia L., 'Out of the Archive: Four Newly-Identified Figures in Tullia d'Aragona's "Rime della Signora Tullia di Aragona e di diversi a lei" (1547)' *MLN*, 18 (2003), 257-263
- Hale, J.R., *War and Society in Renaissance Europe, 1450-1620* (London: Fontana, 1985)
- Hampton, Timothy, *Writing from History. The Rhetoric of Exemplarity in Renaissance Literature* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1990)
- Hanning, Robert W. and David Rosand, *Castiglione. The Ideal and the Real in Renaissance Culture* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1983)
- Harrán, Don, 'Investigation through interrogation: the case of female poets and feminist poetry in the sixteenth-century madrigal', *Recercare*, 7 (1995), 5-46
- Haselkorn, Anne M. and Betty S. Travitsky (eds.) *The Renaissance Englishwoman in Print: Counterbalancing the Canon* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1990)
- Heiple, Daniel L., *Garcilaso de la Vega and the Italian Renaissance* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994)

Hempfer, Kalus W., *Diskrepante Lektüren: die Orlando-Furioso-Rezeption im Cinquecento: historische Rezeptionsforschung als Heuristik der Interpretation* (Stuttgart: Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden, 1987)

Herman, Peter C., ed., *Opening the Borders. Inclusivity in Early Modern Studies. Essays in Honor of James V. Mirollo* (London: Associated University Presses, 1999)

Hernando Sánchez, Carlos José, *Castilla y Nápoles en el siglo XVI. El Virrey Pedro de Toledo. Linaje, estado y cultura (1532-1553)* (Castilla y León: Consejería de Cultura y Turismo, 1994)

- 'La cultura nobiliaria en el virreinato de Nápoles durante el siglo XVI', *Historia Social*, 28 (1997), 95-112

Hillgarth, J.N., *The Mirror of Spain, 1500-1700. The Formation of a Myth* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000)

Hills, Helen, 'Cities and Virgins: Female Aristocratic Convents in Early Modern Naples and Palermo', *Oxford Art Journal*, 22 (1999), 31-54

- '“Enamelled with the Blood of a Noble Lineage”: Tracing Noble Blood and Female Holiness in Early Modern Neapolitan Convents and their Architecture', *Church History*, 73 (2004), 1-40
- *Invisible City. The Architecture of Devotion in Seventeenth-Century Neapolitan Convents* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004)

Hirschfield, Heather, 'Early Modern Collaboration and Theories of Authorship', *PMLA*, 116 (2001), 609-22

Hoogewerff, Goffredo, 'L'editore del Vasari: Lorenzo Torrentino', in *Studi Vasariani. Atti del convegno internazionale per il IV centenario della prima edizione delle 'Vite' del Vasari* (Florence: G.C.Sansoni Editore, 1952), pp.93-104

Hook, Judith, *The Sack of Rome, 1527* (London: Macmillan, 1972)

Horodowich, Elizabeth, *Language and Statecraft in Early Modern Venice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008)

Housam, Leslie, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to the History of the Book* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014)

Hsia, R. Po-Chia, ed., *Christianity, Reform and Expansion 1500-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007)

- Huchon, Mireille, *Louise Labé. Une creature de papier* (Geneva: Droz, 2006)
- Hutson, Lorna, ed., *Feminism and Renaissance Studies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999)
- Izzo, Anna Lisa, 'Misoginia e filoginia nell'*Orlando Furioso*', *Chroniques italiannes*, I (2012), 1-24 <<http://chroniquesitaliennes.univ-paris3.fr/PDF/Web22/Izzo.pdf>> [accessed 08 April 2018]
- Jaffe, Irma, *Shining Eyes, Cruel Fortune: The Lives and Loves of Italian Renaissance Women Poets* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2002)
- Jameson, Frederic, *The Political Unconscious: Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act* (London and New York: Routledge, 1981)
- Javitch, Daniel, 'The Imitation of Imitations in the *Orlando Furioso*', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 38 (1985), 215-39
- 'Narrative Discontinuity in the *Orlando Furioso* and its Sixteenth Century Critics', *MLN*, 103 (1988), 50-74
 - *Proclaiming a Classic: The Canonization of Orlando Furioso* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991)
- Jayne, Sears and Francis R. Johnson, eds, *The Lumley Library. The Catalogue of 1609* (London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1956)
- Johns, Adrian, *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1998)
- Jones, Ann Rosalind, 'Surprising Fame: Renaissance Gender Ideologies and Women's Lyric', in Nancy K. Miller ed., *The Poetics of Gender* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), pp.74-95
- *The Currency of Eros: Women's Love Lyric in Europe, 1540-1620* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1990)
- Jones, Ann Rosalind and Peter Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000)
- Jones, R.O., 'Renaissance Butterfly, Mannerist Flea: Tradition and Change in Renaissance Poetry', *MLN*, 80 (1965), 166-84

Joseph Benson, Pamela, and Victoria Kirkham, eds, *Strong Voices, Weak History: Early Women Writers and Canons in England, France and Italy* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2005)

- Deanna Shemek, 'The Collector's Cabinet: Lodovico Domenichi's Gallery of Women', pp.239-62

Jossa, Stefano, 'Ariosto Redivivus in 2016: A Year of Centenary Celebration and Critical Reassessment of *Orlando Furioso*', *The Italianist*, 38 (2018), 134-49

Jossa, Stefano, and Simona Mammana, 'Petrarchismo e petrarchismi. Forme, ideologia, identità di un sistema' in Luigi Collarile and Daniele Maira, eds, *Nel libro di Laura* (Basel: Schwabe AG, 2004), pp.91-116

Jossa, Stefano and Giuliana Pieri, eds, *Chivalry, Academy, and Cultural Dialogues. The Italian Contribution to European Culture* (Cambridge: Legenda, 2016)

Kennedy, William J., *The Site of Petrarchism. Early Modern National Sentiment in Italy, France and England* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003)

Kent, F.W. and Patricia Simons with J.C. Eade, eds, *Patronage, Art and Society in Renaissance Italy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987)

King, Catherine, *Renaissance Women Patrons. Wives and Widows in Italy c.1300-1550* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1998)

King, Margaret L., *Women of the Renaissance* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1991)

Kinney, Clare R., ed., *Ashgate Critical Essays on Women Writers in England, 1550-1700. Volume 4: Mary Wroth* (Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate, 2009)

Kirkham, Victoria, 'Laura Battiferra degli Ammannati's *First Book* of Poetry. A Renaissance Holograph Comes Out of Hiding.' *Rinascimento*, 36 (1996), 351-92

Kolsky, Stefan, 'Moderata Fonte's *Tredici Canti del Floridoro*: Women in a Man's Genre', *Rivista di Studi Italiani*, XVII (1999), 165-84

- 'Moderata Fonte, Lucrezia Marinella, Giuseppe Passi: An Early Seventeenth-Century Feminist Controversy', *The Modern Language Review*, 96 (2001), 973-89
- *The Ghost of Boccaccio. Writings on Famous Women in Renaissance Italy* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005)

Kosofsky Sedgwick, Eve, *Between Men. English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985)

Lalli, Rossella, 'In limine. La lirica femminile del Cinquecento tra paratesto e stampa (1538-1600)', in *La lirica in Italia dalle origini al Rinascimento*, ed. by Lorenzo Geri and Marco Grimaldi, in *Studi (e testi) italiani*, 38 (2016), 191-210

Langer, Ullrich, *Lyric in the Renaissance. From Petrarch to Montaigne* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015)

Larivaille, Paul, *Pietro Aretino fra rinascimento e manierismo* (Rome: Bulzoni editore, 1980)

- 'Guerra e ideologia nel *Furioso*', *Chroniques Italiennes*, 19 (2011), 1-20
<<http://chroniquesitaliennes.univ-paris3.fr/PDF/web19/Larivailleweb19.pdf>> [accessed 24 May 2018]

Larsen, Anne R., 'Reading/Writing and Gender in the Renaissance: The Case of Catherine des Roches (1542-1587)', *Symposium*, 41 (1987), 292-307

- 'Paradox and the Praise of Women: From Ortensio Lando and Charles Estienne to Marie de Romieu', *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 28 (1997), 759-74

Larsen, Anne R. and Colette H. Winn, eds, *Renaissance Women Writers: French Texts / American Contexts* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1994)

- Deborah N. Losse, 'Women Addressing Women: The Differentiated Text', pp.23-37

Lawner, Lynn, 'Gaspara Stampa and the Rhetoric of Submission' in Andrew Morrogh, Fiorella Superbi Gioffredi, Piero Morselli, and Eve Borsook, eds, *Renaissance Studies in Honor of Craig Hugh Smyth*, vol.1 (Florence: Giunti Barbèra, 1985), pp.345-62

Lawrence, Cynthia, ed., *Women and Art in Early Modern Europe. Patrons, Collectors and Connoisseurs* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997)

Lazard, Madeleine, *Louise Labé, Lyonnaise* ([Paris]: Fayard, 2004)

Letts, Malcolm, 'Some Sixteenth-Century Travellers in Naples', *The English Historical Review*, 33 (1918), 176-96

Levarie Smarr, Janet, 'A Dialogue of Dialogues: Tullia d'Aragona and Sperone Speroni', *MLN*, 113 (1998), 204-12

- 'Substituting for Laura: Objects of Desire for Renaissance Women Poets', *Comparative Literature Studies*, 38 (2001), 1-30
- *Joining the Conversation. Dialogues by Renaissance Women* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2005)

Limentani, Caterina Viridis and Monica Farnetti, eds, *Per amicizia. Scritti di filologia e letteratura in memoria di Giovanna Rabitti* (Padua: Il Poligrafo casa editrice, 2011)

Lopez, Pasquale, *Inquisizione stampa e censura nel regno di Napoli tra '500 e '600*, ([Naples]: Edizioni del Delfino, 1974)

Lord, Carnes, 'The Argument of Tasso's Nifo', *Italica*, 56 (1979), 22-45

Lucioli, Francesco, 'Riscrittura come esegesi. Laura Terracina lettrice ed interprete dell'*Orlando Furioso*', *Romanische Studien*, 8 (forthcoming), 151-167

Lussey, Natalie, 'Giovanni Andrea Vavassore and the Business of Print in Early Modern Venice' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2015)

Lyons, John D., *Exemplum: The Rhetoric of Example in Early Modern France and Italy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989)

Lytle, Guy Fitch and Stephen Orgel, *Patronage in the Renaissance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982)

Mac Carthy, Ita, *Women and the Making of Poetry in Ariosto's Orlando Furioso* (Leicester: Troubadour Publishing, 2007)

MacDonald, Robert H., ed., *The Library of Drummond of Hawthornden* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1971)

MacNeil, Anne, *Music and Women of the Commedia dell'Arte in the Late Sixteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003)

Magnanini, Suzanne, 'Une selva luminosa: The Second Day of Moderata Fonte's *Il merito delle donne*', *Modern Philology*, 101 (2003), 278-96

Malato, Enrico (ed.), *Storia della letteratura italiana, vol. IV: Il primo Cinquecento* (Rome: Salerno Editrice, 1996)

Maldina, Nicolò, *Ariosto e la battaglia della Polesella. Guerra e poesia nella Ferrara di inizio Cinquecento* (Bologna: Società Editrice il Mulino, 2016)

Malpezzi Price, Paola and Christine Ristaino, *Lucrezia Marinella and the "Querelle des Femmes" in Seventeenth-Century Italy* (Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2008)

Manzi, Pietro, *La tipografia napoletana nel '500: Annali di Mattia Cancer Ed Eredi (1529-1595)* (Florence: L.S. Olschki, 1972)

Marcheschi, Daniela, *Chiara Matraini: poetessa lucchese e la letteratura delle donne nei nuovi fermenti religiosi del '500* (Lucca: M. Pacini Fazzi, 2015)

Marino, John A. *Becoming Neapolitan: Citizen Culture in Baroque Naples* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011)

Maroi, L., *Laura Terracina. Poetessa napoletana del sec. XVI* (Naples: F. Perrella, 1913)

Marotti, Arthur F., 'Patronage, Poetry, and Print', *The Yearbook of English Studies*, 21 (1991), 1-26.

- *Manuscript, Print, and the English Renaissance Lyric* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1995)

Marrone, Gaetana and Paolo Puppa, eds, *Encyclopedia of Italian Literary Studies* (New York and London: Routledge, 2007)

Martin, John, 'Inventing Sincerity, Refashioning Prudence: The Discovery of the Individual in Renaissance Europe', *The American Historical Review*, 102 (1997), 1309-42

Martin, Randall, ed., *Women Writers in Renaissance England* (London and New York: Longman, 1997)

Martinez, Ronald L., 'The Book without a Name: Petrarch's Open Secret (*Liber sine nomine*)', in *Petrarch. A Critical Guide to the Complete Works*, ed. BY Victoria Kirkham and Armando Maggi (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2009), pp. 291-300

Martini, Alessandro, 'Ritratto del madrigale poetico fra Cinque e Seicento', *Lettere italiane*, 33 (1981), 528-48

Martini, Davide, Tommaso Maria Rossi and Gaia Elisabetta Unfer Verre, eds, *Vincenzo Busdraghi (1524?-1601). Uno stampatore europeo a Lucca* (Lucca: Comune di Lucca, 2017)

Masten, Jeffrey, *Textual Intercourse: Collaboration, Authorship, and Sexualities in Renaissance Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997)

- Matter, Ann E. and John Coakley, *Creative Women in Medieval and Early Modern Italy: A Religious and Artistic Renaissance* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994)
- Matteucci, Luigi, 'Saggio di un Catalogo delle Edizioni Lucchesi di Vincenzo Busdrago, 1549-1605', *La Bibliofilia*, 18 (1917), 225-39, 328-56
- Maylender, Michele, *Storia delle accademie d'Italia*, 5 vols (Bologna: A. Forni, 1926-30)
- Mazur, Peter A., *The New Christians of Spanish Naples, 1528-1671: A Fragile Elite* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013)
- Mazzacurati, Giancarlo and Michel Plaisance, *Scritture di scritture. Testi, generi, modelli nel rinascimento*, (Rome: Bulzoni editore, 1987)
- McGrath, Thomas, 'Facing the text: Author portraits in Florentine printed books, 1545-1585', *Word & Image* 19 (2003), 74-85
- McHugh, Shannon, 'Rethinking Vittoria Colonna: Gender and Desire in the *rime amorose*', *The Italianist*, 33 (2013), 345-60
- McIver, Katherine A., *Wives, Widows, Mistresses, and Nuns in Early Modern Italy. Making the Invisible Visible through Art and Patronage* (Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate, 2012)
- Mele, Eugenio, 'Las poesías latinas de Garcilaso de la Vega y su permanencia en Italia', *Bulletin Hispanique*, 25 (1923), 108-48
- Mengaldo, Pier Vincenzo, 'La lirica volgare del Sannazaro e lo sviluppo del linguaggio poetico rinascimentale', *La Rassegna della letteratura italiana*, 66 (1962), 436-82
- Merrim, Stephanie, *Early Modern Women's Writing and Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1999)
- Metlica, Alessandro and Franco Tomasi, eds, *Canzonieri in transito. Lasciti petrarcheschi e nuovi archetipi letterari tra cinque e seicento* (Milan: Mimesis, 2015)
- Migiel, Marilyn and Juliana Schiesari, *Refiguring Woman: Perspectives on Gender and the Italian Renaissance* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1991)
- Miguel, Marilyn, 'Olimpia's Secret Weapon: Gender, War, and Hermeneutics in Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*', *Critical Matrix* 9 (1995), 21-44

Milburn, Erika, ' 'Come scultor che scopra i grand' arte in picciol'opra': Luigi Tansillo and a miniature canzoniere in the *Rime di diversi* of 1552', *Italian Studies*, 56 (2001), 4-29

- ' 'D'Invidia e d'Amor figlia sì ria": Jealousy and the Italian Renaissance Lyric', *The Modern Language Review*, 97 (2002), 577-91
- *Luigi Tansillo and lyric poetry in sixteenth-century Naples* (Leeds: Maney Publishing, for the Modern Humanities Research Association, 2003)

Miller, Shannon, 'Mary Sidney and Gendered Strategies for the Writing of Poetry', in *Ashgate Critical Essays on Women Writers in England, 1550-1700: Volume 2. Mary Sidney, Countess of Pembroke*, ed. by Margaret P. Hannay (Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate, 2009), pp. 59-80

Milligan, Gerry and Jane Tylus, eds, *The Poetics of Masculinity in Early Modern Italy and Spain* (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2010)

Montella, Luigi, *Una poetessa del Rinascimento: Laura Terracina. Con le Nove rime inedite* (Salerno: Edisud, 1993)

Moore, Mary B., *Desiring Voices. Women Sonneteers and Petrarchism* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2000)

Moreni, Domenico, *Annali della tipografia fiorentina di Lorenzo Torrentino* (Florence: Niccolò Carli, 1811)

Moulton, Ian Frederick, ed., *Reading and Literacy in the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004)

Mujica, Barbera, *Women Writers of Early Modern Spain: Sophia's Daughters* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2004)

Murrin, Michael, *History and Warfare in Renaissance Epic* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1994)

Musi, Aurelio, ed., *Nel sistema imperiale: L'Italia spagnola* (Naples: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 1994)

- 'Le rivolte italiane nel sistema imperiale spagnolo', in *Mediterranea ricerche storiche*, 4 (2005), 209-20

Musiol, Maria, *Spurs and reins. Vittoria Colonna. A Woman's Renaissance* (Berlin: epubli, [2013])

Mussarra, "L'antiqua damigella": *Dell'ironia nell'Orlando Furioso* (Florence: Franco Cesati Editore, 2013)

Nader, Helen, ed., *Power and Gender in Renaissance Spain: Eight Women of the Mendoza Family, 1450-1650* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2004)

Najemy, John M., *The Cambridge Companion to Machiavelli* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010)

- 'Philosophy and Religion in Machiavelli', Alison Brown, pp. 157-172
- 'Rhetoric and Ethics in Machiavelli', Virginia Cox, pp. 173-189

Napoli Signorelli, Pietro, *Vicende della coltura nelle Due Sicilie*, vol.4 (Naples: Vincenzo Flauto, 1785)

Navarro, Ana, ed., *Antología poética de escritoras de los siglos XVI y XVII* (Madrid: Editorial Castalia, 1989)

Navarrete, Ignacio, *Orphans of Petrarch. Poetry and Theory in the Spanish Renaissance* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1994)

Nicoli, Ottavia, *Prophecy and People in Renaissance Italy*, trans. By Lydia G. Cochrane (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990)

- 'Manoscritti, oralità, stampe popolari: viaggi dei testi profetici nell'Italia del Rinascimento', *Italian Studies*, 66 (2011), 177-92

Nieto, Jose C., *Juan de Valdes and the Origins of the Spanish and Italian Reformation* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1970)

Nuova, Angela, *Il commercio librario nell'Italia del Rinascimento*, 3rd edn (Milan: FrancoAngeli, 2003)

Nuovo, Angela and Christian Coppins, *I Giolito e la stampa nell'Italia del XVI secolo* (Geneva: Droz, 2005)

Oldcorn, Anthony, 'Lyric Poetry' in *The Cambridge History of Italian Literature*, ed. by Peter Brand and Lino Pertile (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp.251-76

Olivares, Julián and Elizabeth S. Boyce, *Tras el espejo la musa escribe: Lirica femenina de los Siglos de Oro* (Madrid: Siglo XXXI de España editores, 1993)

Olsen, Jonathan R., ' 'Newly Amended and Much Enlarged': Claims of Novelty and Enlargement on the Title Pages of Reprints in the Early Modern English Book Trade', *History of European Ideas*, 42 (2016), 618-28

Ordine, Nuncio, 'Vittoria Colonna nell'*Orlando Furioso*,' *Studi e problemi di critica testuale*, 42 (1991), 55-92

Ostovich, Helen, and Elizabeth Sauer, eds, *Reading Early Modern Women. An Anthology of Texts in Manuscript and Print, 1550-1700* (New York and London: Routledge, 2004)

Pade, Marianne, Lene Waage Petersen and Daniela Quarta, *La Corte di Ferrara e il suo mecenatismo, 1441-1598* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanums forlag, 1990)

- Paul Larivaille, 'Poeta, principe, pubblico dall' "*Orlando Innamorato*" all' "*Orlando Furioso*" ', pp. 9-32
- Lene Waage Petersen, 'Il Poeta creatore del Principe. Ironia e interpretazione in "*Orlando Furioso*" ', pp. 195-212

Pallotta, Augustus, 'Venetian Printers and Spanish Literature in Sixteenth-Century Italy', *Comparative Literature*, 43 (1991), 20-42

Panizza, Letizia (ed.) *Women in Italian Renaissance Culture and Society* (Oxford: Legenda, 2000)

- Connor Fahy, 'Women and Italian Cinquecento literary academies', pp. 438-52

Paoli, Marco, *La dedica. Storia di una strategia editoriale* (Lucca: Maria Pacini Fazzi Editore, 2009)

Parker, Patricia and David Quint, eds, *Literary Theory / Renaissance Texts* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986)

Patterson, Jonathan, *Representing Avarice in Late Renaissance France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015)

Pavlova, Maria, 'Ludovico Ariosto', in *Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History*, 11 vols (Leiden: Brill, 2009-17), VI (2014), pp.469-83

Pender, Patricia, *Early Modern Women's Writing and the Rhetoric of Modesty* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012)

Pestarino, Rossano, 'Lirica "narrativa": i Sonetti per la presa d'Africa di Luigi Tansillo', *Critica letteraria*, 153 (2011), 693-723

Petrella, Giancarlo, 'Ippolito Ferrarese, a Travelling 'Cerratano' and Publisher in Sixteenth-Century Italy', in *Print Culture and Peripheries in Early Modern Europe: A Contribution to the History of Printing and the Book Trade in Small European and Spanish Cities*, ed. by Benito Rial Costas (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2013), pp. 201-26

Petrucchi, Armando, ed., *Libri, editori e pubblico nell'Europa moderna. Guida storica e critica* (Rome and Bari: Editori Laterza, 1977)

- Quondam, Amedeo, "'Mercanzia d'onore" "Mercanzia d'utile". Produzione libraria e lavoro intellettuale a Venezia nel Cinquecento.' pp. 51-104

Pezzini, Serena, 'Dissimulazione e paradosso nelle "Lettere di molte valorose donne" (1548) a cura di Ortensio Lando', *Italianistica*, 31 (2002), 67-83

Phillippy, Patricia, ' "Altera Dido": The Model of Ovid's *Heroides* in the Poems of Gaspara Stampa and Veronica Franco', *Italica*, 69 (1992), 1-18

Piccione, Francesco, *Louise Labé. Il coraggio, gli amori, la poesia di una donna libera* (Rome: Edizioni Efestò, 2013)

Pich, Federica, ' "Con la propria mia voce parli". Literary Genres, Portraits and Voices in Giuseppe Betussi's *Imagini del tempio* (1556)', *Italian Studies*, 69 (2014), 51-74

- 'Beyond the Story of Storytelling: the Narrator as Lover in Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*', *The Italianist*, 35 (2015), 334-52

Piéjus, Marie-Françoise, 'La première anthologie de poèmes féminins: l'écriture filtrée et orientée', *Le pouvoir et la plume: Incitation, contrôle et répression dans l'Italie du XVIe siècle. Actes du Colloque international organisé per le Centre Interuniversitaire de Recherche sur la Renaissance italienne et l'Institut Culturel Italien de Marseille: Aix-en-Provence, Marseille, 14-16 Mai 1981* (Paris: Université de la Sorbonne Nouvelle, 1982), pp. 193-214

Piras, L.A., 'Bacio Terracina, Laura', *ereticopedia.org*, <www.ereticopedia.org/laura-bacio-terracina> [accessed 21 May 2018]

Ponchioli, Daniele, ed., *Lirici del Cinquecento* (Turin: UTET, 1958)

Prager, Frank D., 'A History of Intellectual Property from 1545 to 1787', *Journal of the Patent Office Society*, 26 (1944), 711-60

- 'The Early Growth and Influence of Intellectual Property', *Journal of the Patent Office Society*, 34 (1952), 106-40

Prandi, Stefano, 'Marino, Tasso e la gelosia', *Filologia e critica* 18 (1993), 114-21

Prelipcean, Laura, 'Dialogic Construction and Interaction in Lodovico Domenichi's La nobiltà delle donne', *Renaissance and Reformation*, 39 (2016), 61-84

Quondam, Amedeo, ed., *Le corti farnesiane di Parma e Piacenza 1545-1622. Tomo 2: forme e istituzioni della produzione culturale* (Rome: Bulzoni editore, 1978)

Quondam, Amedeo, *Petrarchismo mediato. Per una critica della forma 'antologia'* (Rome: Bulzoni editore, 1974)

- *Le "Carte messaggere". Retorica e modelli di comunicazione epistolare: per un indice dei libri di lettere del Cinquecento* (Rome: Bulzoni editore, 1981)
- *Il naso di Laura: Lingua e poesia lirica nella tradizione del Classicismo* (Ferrara: Franco Cosimo Panini Editore, 1991)

Rabitti, Giovanna, 'Foto di gruppo. Uno sguardo sulle "Rime di diversi signori napolitani e d'altri nuovamente raccolte et impresse. Libro settimo" (1556)', in *La lirica del Cinquecento. Seminario di studi in memoria di Cesare Bozzetti*, ed. by Renzo Cremante (Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso, 2004), 155-76

Raimondi, Ezio, 'Il petrarchismo nell'Italia meridionale', *Atti del convegno internazionale sul tema: premarinismo e pregongorismo* (Rome: Accademia nazionale dei Lincei, 1973)

Ranieri, Concetta, 'Vittoria Colonna: dediche, libri e manoscritti', *Critica letteraria* 47 (1985), 249-70

Ravasini, Ines, , 'Las "Stancias de Rugier nuevamente glosadas" de Alonso Núñez de Reinoso: glosas ariostescas entre Italia y España', *Memoria de la palabra. Actas del Cuarto Congreso de la Asociación Internacional Siglo de Oro*, vol. 2, ed. by María Luisa Lobato and Francisco Domínguez Matito (Vervuert: Iberoamericana, 2004), pp. 1495-1505

- 'Las Stancias de Rugier nuevamente glosadas de Alonso Núñez de Reinoso: una glosa ariostesca de origen italiano', *Rivista di Filologia e Letterature Ispaniche*, 6 (2003), 65-86

Ray, Meredith K., 'Textual Collaboration and Spiritual Partnership in Sixteenth-Century Italy: The Case of Ortensio Lando and Lucrezia Gonzaga', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 62 (2009), 694-747

- *Writing Gender in Women's Letter Collections of the Italian Renaissance* (Toronto, Buffalo and London: University of Toronto Press, 2009)

Raymond, Joad, *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture*, 6 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), II (2011)

Rebhorn, Wayne, *Courtly Performances: Masking and Festivity in Castiglione's Book of the Courtier* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1978)

Regan, Lisa K. "Ariosto's Threshold Patron: Isabella d'Este in the "Orlando Furioso"", *MLN*, 120 (2005), 50-69

Ricca, E., *La nobiltà del Regno delle Due Sicilie* (Naples: unknown, 1859-1879)

Richardson, Brian, *Print Culture in Renaissance Italy. The Editor and the Vernacular Text, 1470-1600* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994)

- *Printing, Writers and Readers in Renaissance Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999)
- "From Scribal Publication to Print Publication: Pietro Bembo's "Rime," 1529-1535", *The Modern Language Review*, 95 (2000), 684-95
- "Print or Pen? Modes of Written Publication in Sixteenth-Century Italy", *Italian studies*, 59 (2004), 39-64
- *Manuscript Culture in Renaissance Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009)
- 'The Social Connotations of Singing Verse in Cinquecento Italy', *The Italianist*, 34 (2014), 362-78

Ricottini Marsili-Libelli, Cecilia, *Anton Francesco Doni. Scrittore e stampatore* (Florence: Sansoni Antiquariato, 1960)

Rigolot, François, *Louise Labé Lyonnaise ou la Renaissance au féminin* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1997)

Rivoletti, Christian, *Ariosto e l'ironia della finzione. La ricezione letteraria e figurative dell'Orlando Furioso in Francia, Germania e Italia* (Venice: Marsilio, 2014)

Robin, Diana, *Publishing Women: Salons, the Presses, and the Counter-Reformation in Sixteenth-Century Italy* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2007)

- 'Women on the Move: Trends in Anglophone Studies of Women in the Italian Renaissance', *I Tatti Studies in the Italian Renaissance*, 16 (2013), 13-25

Robin, Diana, Anne R. Larsen and Carole Levin, eds., *Encyclopedia of Women in the Renaissance* (Santa Barbara, Denver & Oxford: ABC Clio, 2007)

Romeo, Giovanni, 'Una città, due inquisizioni: l'anomalia del Sant'Ufficio a Napoli nel tardo '500', *Rivista di Storia e Letteratura Religiosa*, 24 (1988), 42-67

Rose, Mark, 'The Author as Proprietor: Donaldson v. Becket and the Genealogy of Modern Authorship', *Representations*, 23 (1988), 51-85

- *Authors and Owners: The Invention of Copyright* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 1993)

Rosenthal, Margaret F., *The Honest Courtesan. Veronica Franco, Citizen and Writer in Sixteenth-Century Venice* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1992)

Rossi, Massimiliano and Daniela Caracciolo, eds, *Le sorti d'Orlando. Illustrazione e riscritture del Furioso* (Lucca: Maria Pacini Fazzi editore, 2013)

- Giuseppe Iorio, 'Inventio e dispositio nelle allegorie delle edizioni Giolito (1542) e Valvassori (1563), pp. 39-53
- Cristina Acucella, ' "Le perfetioni di un autor profano", Ruscelli e le allegorie dell'edizione Valgrisi (1556) del *Furioso*', pp. 55-73

Rubbi, Andrea, ed., *Poetesse del secolo XVI* (Venice: Antonio Zatta, 1787)

Rubin, Gayle, 'The Traffic in Women: notes on the "Political Economy" of Sex' in *Toward and Anthropology of Women*, ed. by Rayna R. Rieter (New York and London: Monthly Review Press, 1975), 157-210

Rubino, Ciro, *Tansilliana (La vita, le poesia e le opera di Luigi Tansillo)* (Naples: Istituto Grafico Editore Italiano, 1996)

Russell, Camilla, *Giulia Gonzaga and the Religious Controversies of Sixteenth-Century Italy* (Turnhout (Belgium): Brepols, 2006)

Russell, Rinaldina, 'The Mind's Pursuit of the Divine. A Survey of Secular and Religious Themes in Vittoria Colonna's Sonnets', *Forum Italicum*, 26 (1992), 14-27

- 'Chiara Matraini nella tradizione lirica femminile,' *Forum Italicum*, 34 (2000), 415-425

Ryan, Christopher, *The Poetry of Michelangelo: An Introduction* (London: Athlone Press, 1998)

Sabbatino, Pasquale, *Il modello bembiano a Napoli nel Cinquecento* (Naples: Editrice Ferraro, 1986)

Sánchez, Carlos José Hernando, 'La cultura nobiliaria en el virreinato de Nápoles durante el siglo XVI', *Historia Social*, 28 (1997), 95-112

Sangirardi, Giuseppe, 'Trame e genealogie dell'ironia ariostesca', *Italian Studies* 69 (2014), 189-203

Sanson, Helena, 'Ornamentum mulieri brevilloquencia: Donne, silenzi, parole nell'Italia del Cinquecento', *The Italianist*, 23 (2003), 194-243

- 'Donne che (non) ridono: parole e riso nella precettistica femminile del XVI secolo in Italia', *Italian Studies*, 60 (2005), 6-21
- *Donne, precettistica e lingua nell'Italia del Cinquecento. Un contributo alla storia del pensiero linguistico* (Florence: Accademia della Crusca, 2007)
- *Women, Language and Grammar in Italy 1500-1900* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011)
- "'Femina proterva, rude, indocta [...], chi t'ha insegnato a parlar in questo modo?' Women's 'Voices' and Linguistic Varieties in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Written Texts', *The Italianist*, 34 (2014), 400-17
- 'Widowhood and Conduct in Late Sixteenth-Century Italy: the 'Unusual' Case of La Vedova del Fusco (1570)', *The Italianist*, 35 (2015), 1-26

Santangelo, Giorgio, *Il petrarchismo del Bembo e di altri poeti del '500* (Rome and Palermo: Istituto editoriale cultura europea, 1961-62)

Santoro, Marco, and Maria Gioia Tavoni, eds, *I dintorni del testo: approcci alle periferie del libro: atti del convegno internazionale: Rome, 15-17 novembre 2004, Bologna, 18-19 novembre 2004* (Rome: Edizioni dell'Ateneo, 2005)

Santoro, Mario, *Lecture ariostesche* (Naples: Liguori, 1973)

- *L'Anello di Angelica: Nuovi saggi ariosteschi* (Naples: Casa Editrice Federico & Ardia, 1983)

Sapegno, Maria Serena, ed., *Al crocevia della storia. Poesia, religione e politica in Vittoria Colonna* (Rome: viella, 2016)

Saslow, James M., *The Poetry of Michelangelo: An Annotated Translation* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1991)

Sberlati, Francesco, 'Dalla donna di palazzo alla donna di famiglia: Pedagogia e cultura femminile tra Rinascimento e Controriforma', *I Tatti Studies in the Italian Renaissance*, 7 (1997), 119-74

Scarano, Emanuella, 'Guerra favolosa e guerra storica nell'*Orlando Furioso*', in *Studi offerti a Luigi Blasucci dai colleghi e dagli allievi pisani*, ed. by Lucio Lugnani, Marco Santagata and Alfredo Stussi (Lucca: Maria Pacini Fazzi Editore, 1996)

Scheffer, Rolien, 'Identità poetiche tra petrarchismo e antipetrarchismo: l'esempio di Gaspara Stampa e Veronica Franco', in *Autorità, modelli e antimodelli nella cultura artistica e letteraria tra riforma e controriforma, Atti del seminario internazionale di studi Urbino-Sassocorvaro, 9-11 novembre 2006*, ed. by Antonio Corsaro, Harald Hendrix, and Paolo Procaccioli (Rome: Vecchiarelli Editore, 2007), pp. 207-12

Schutte, Anne Jacobson, 'Irene di Spilimbergo: The Image of a Creative Woman in Late Renaissance Italy', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 44 (1991), 42-61

- 'Commemorators of Irene di Spilimbergo', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 45 (1992), 524-36

Scoles, Emma and Ines Ravasini, 'Intertestualità e interpretazione nel genere lirico della glosa', in *Nunca fue pena mayor: Estudios de Literatura Española en homenaje a Brian Dutton*, ed. by Ana Menéndez and Victoriano Roncero López (Cuenca: Ediciones de la Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha, 1996), pp. 615-31

Segre, Cesare, *Teatro e romanzo* (Turin: Einaudi, 1984)

Severi, Luigi, *Sitibondo nel stampar de' libri: Niccolò Zoppino tra libro volgare, letteratura cortigiana e questione della lingua* (Rome: Vecchiarelli Editore, 2009)

Shemek, Deanna, 'Of Women, Knights, Arms, and Love: The Querelle des Femmes in Ariosto's Poem', *MLN*, 104 (1989), 68-97

- 'That Elusive Object of Desire: Angelica in the "Orlando Furioso"', *Annali d'Italianistica*, 7 (1989), 116-41
- *Ladies errant: wayward women and social order in early modern Italy* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1998)

Sherer, Idan, '"When War Comes They Want to Flee": Motivation and Combat Effectiveness in Spanish Infantry During the Italian Wars', *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 48 (2017), 385-412

Sherman, William H., *Used Books. Marking Readers in Renaissance England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008)

- "'Nota Bembe": How Bembo the Elder Read His Pliny The Younger', in *Pietro Bembo e le arti*, ed. by Guido Beltramini, Howard Burns and David Gasparotto (Venice: Marsilio, 2013)
- Shilling, Alana, 'Morgana's Bracelet: Memory Games and the Plight of History in Ariosto's Final Edition of the "Orlando Furioso", 1532', *Italica*, 90 (2013), 491-531
- Skinner, Quentin, *Machiavelli* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981)
- Smith, Helen, *'Grossly Material Things': Women and Book Production in Early Modern England* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2012)
- Smith, Helen and Louise Wilson, eds, *Renaissance Paratexts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011)
- Sole, A., *Cognizione del reale e letteratura in Giovanni della Casa* (Rome: Bulzoni editore, 1981)
- Steffler, Alva William, *Symbols of the Christian Faith* (Grand Rapids and Cambridge: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2002)
- Stella, Clara, 'Publishing Renaissance Women Poets: The Contribution of Domenichi's *Rime diverse d'alcune nobilissime et virtuosissime donne* (1559)' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Leeds University, 2017)
- Suzuki, Mihoko, ed., *Ashgate Critical Essays on Women Writers in England, 1550-1700. Volume 5: Anne Clifford and Lucy Hutchinson* (Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate, 2009)
- Syson, Luke, 'Consorts, mistresses and exemplary women: the female medallic portrait in fifteenth-century Italy,' *The Sculpted Object 1400-1700*, ed. by Stuart Currie and Peta Motture (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1997), pp.43-64
- Tedeschi, John, *The Prosecution of Heresy: Collected Studies on the Inquisition in Early Modern Italy* (Binghampton, NY: Medieval and Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1991)
- Terpening, Ronnie H., *Lodovico Dolce, Renaissance Man of Letters* (Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press, 1997)
- Terzoli, Maria Antonietta, ed., *I margini del libro. Indagine teorica e storica sui testi di dedica* (Rome and Padua: Editrice Antenore, 2004)
- Testa, Simone, and Jane Everson, "Le Accademie senesi e il network intellettuale della prima età moderna in Italia (1525–1700). Un progetto online. Introduzione di Jane Everson." *Bullettino senese di Storia Patria*, 117 (2010), 613-37

Thomas, Max W., 'Reading and Writing the Renaissance Commonplace Book: A Question of Authorship?' in *The Construction of Authorship: Textual Appropriation in Law and Literature*, ed. by Martha Woodmansee and Peter Jaszi (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1994), pp. 401-15

Thompson, Wendy, 'Antonfrancesco Doni's "Medaglie"', *Print Quarterly*, 24 (2007), 223-38

Tomalin, Margaret, *The Fortunes of the Warrior Heroine in Italian Literature. An index of emancipation* (Ravenna: Longo editore, 1982)

Tomita, Soko, ed., *A Bibliographical Catalogue of Italian Books Printed in England 1558-1608* (Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate, 2009)

Toscano, Tobia R., 'Due schede per Benedetto di Falco', *Critica letteraria*, 73 (1991), 725-60

- 'Un'orazione latina inedita di Berardino Rota "Principe" dell'Accademia dei Sereni di Napoli', *Critica letteraria*, 23 (1995), 81-109
- *Letterati Corti Accademie. La letteratura a Napoli nella prima metà del Cinquecento* (Naples: Loffredo, 2000)
- 'Tra corti e campi di battaglia: Alfonso d'Avalos, Luigi Tansillo e le affinità elettive tra petrarchisti napoletani e spagnoli', *e-Spania*, 13 (2012)

Tracy, James D., *The Politics of Erasmus. A Pacifist Intellectual and His Political Milieu* (Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press, 1978)

Treadwell, Nina, ' "Now I come to you, ladies, after so much time": Cleopatra, Maria d'Aragona and an "intermedio" for the Duchess of Alba', *Cambridge Opera Journal*, 22 (2010), 33-63

Trovato, Paolo, *Con ogni diligenza corretto: La stampa e le revisioni editoriali dei testi letterari italiani (1470-1570)* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1991)

Tung, Mason, *Impresa Index to the Collection of Paradin, Giovio, Simeoni, Pittoni, Ruscelli, Contile, Camilli, Capaccio, Bargagli, ad Typotius*, New York: AMS Press Inc., 2006

Turner, James Grantham, ed., *Sexuality and Gender in Early Modern Europe: Institutions, Texts, Images* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993)

Vallone, Aldo, *Storia della letteratura meridionale* (Naples: CUEN, 1996)

Vecce, Carlo, 'Vittoria Colonna: il codice epistolare della poesia femminile', *Critica letteraria*, 78 (1993), 3-34

Venturi, Gianni (ed.), *Torquato Tasso e la cultura estense* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki editore, 1999)

- Marina Beer, 'Poemi cavallereschi, poemi epici e poemi eroici negli anni di elaborazione della *Gerusalemme liberata* (1559-1581). Gli orizzonti della scrittura', vol. 1, pp. 55-65
- Laura Benedetti, 'Virtù femminile o virtù donnesca? Torquato Tasso, Lucrezia Marinella ed una polemica rinascimentale', vol. 2, pp. 449-56
- Maria Luisa Doglio, 'Il Tasso e le donne. Intorno al *Discorso della virtù femminile e donnesca*', vol. 2, pp. 505-21

Villa, Alessandra, 'Variazioni sull'idea di barbarie nell'*Orlando Furioso*', *Chroniques Italiennes*, 19 (2011), 1-21 < <http://chroniquesitaliennes.univ-paris3.fr/PDF/web19/Villaweb19.pdf>> [accessed 24 May 2018]

Visceglia, Maria Antonietta, ed., *Signori, patrizi, cavalieri nell'età moderna* (Rome and Bari: Gius. Laterza e figli, 1992)

- '<<I segni d'Honore>>. Rappresentazioni delle dinamiche nobiliari a Napoli in età moderna', Giovanni Muto, pp. 171-92

Visceglia, Maria Antonietta, *Identità sociali. La nobiltà napoletana nella prima età moderna* (Milan: Edizioni Unicopli, 1998)

Visceglia, Maria Antonietta, and Judith Revel, 'Un groupe social ambigu: Organisation, stratégies et représentations de la noblesse napolitaine XVIe-XVIIIe siècles', *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales*, 48 (1993), 819-51

Vitiello, Justin, 'Gaspara Stampa: The Ambiguities of Martyrdom', *MLN*, 90 (1975), 58-71

Vollendorf, Lisa, 'Good Sex, Bad Sex: Women and Intimacy in Early Modern Spain', *Hispania*, 87 (2004), 1-12

- 'Women Writing in Early Modern Spain', Oxford Bibliographies, February 2013, <http://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-9780195399301/obo-9780195399301-0131.xml?rskey=ZV4yAG&result=1&q=Women+Writing+in+Early+Modern+Spain#firstMatch> [accessed 28 June 2016]

Waddington, Raymond B., *Pietro Aretino: Subverting the System in Renaissance Italy* (Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate, 2013)

Wainwright, Anna, 'A Simple Virgin Speaks: Authorial Identity and Persuasion in Isabella Cervoni's Oration to Pope Clement VIII', *The Italianist*, 37 (2017), 1-19

- 'La città vedova: Widowhood and Politics in Italian Renaissance Literature,' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, New York University, 2017)

Wall, Wendy, *The Imprint of Gender: Authorship and Publication in the English Renaissance* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1993)

Waring, Caroline, 'The Reception of Ariosto's Orlando furioso (1532) by Three Italian Women Writers of the Sixteenth Century' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 2006)

- 'Laura Terracina's Feminist Discourse (1549): Answering the *Furioso*' in *Laboratorio di Nuova Ricerca. Investigating Gender, Translation and Culture in Italian Studies*, ed. by Monica Boria and Linda Risso (Leicester: Troubadour, 2007), pp.151-167

Warner, Lyndan, *The Ideas of Man and Woman in Renaissance France. Print, Rhetoric, and Law* (Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate, 2011)

Watson, Elizabeth S., 'Ariosto's Cinque Canti and the Threat to Europe' in *Perspectives on Early Modern and Modern Intellectual History. Essays in Honor of Nancy S. Streuver*, ed. by Joseph Marino and Melinda W. Schlitt (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2000), pp. 193-207

Wend, Petra, *The Female Voice. Lyrical Expression in the Writings of Five Italian Renaissance Poets* (New York, Frankfurt am Main, Paris: Peter Lang, 1995)

Wiggins, Peter DeSa, *Figures in Ariosto's Tapestry: Character and Design in the Orlando Furioso* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986)

Wilkins, David G., and Rebecca L. Wilkins, eds, *The Search for a Patron in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (Lewiston, Queenston, Lampeter: The Edwin Mullen Press, 1996)

Wills, Gary, *Venice: Lion City. The Religion of Empire* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2001)

Winn, Colette H. and Donna Kuizenga, *Women Writers in Pre-Revolutionary France. Strategies of Emancipation* (New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1997)

Witcombe, Christopher L.C.E., *Copyright in the Renaissance: Prints and the Privilegio in Sixteenth-Century Venice and Rome* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2004)

Wolfthal, Diane, *Images of Rape. The "Heroic" Tradition and Its Alternative* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999)

Wyatt, Michael, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to the Italian Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014)

Zagorin, Perez, *Ways of Lying: Dissimulation, Persecution, and Conformity in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 1990)

Zancan, Maria, ed., *Nel Cerchio della Luna. Figure di donna in alcuni testi del XVI secolo* (Venice: Marsilio Editori, 1983)

- 'L'intellettualità femminile nel primo Cinquecento: Maria Savorgnan e Gaspara Stampa', *Annali d'Italianistica*, 7 (1989), 66-87

Zanrè, Domenico, *Cultural Non-Conformity in Early Modern Florence* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004)

Zappella, Giuseppina, *Il ritratto nel libro italiano del Cinquecento* (Milan: Editrice bibliografica, 1988)

- *Suggerimenti rinascimentali nell'illustrazione libraria antica* (Naples: Istituto italiano per gli studi filosofici, 1990)
- *Il ritratto librario* (Rome: Vecchiarelli Editore, 2007)

Zatti, Sergio, ed., *La rappresentazione dell'altro nei testi del Rinascimento* (Lucca: M. Pacini Fazzi, 1998)

Zatti, Sergio, *The Quest for Epic: From Ariosto to Tasso*, ed. by Dennis Looney (Toronto, Buffalo & London: University of Toronto Press, 2006)

Zemon Davis, Natalie, *The Gift in Sixteenth-Century France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000)

Biografia degli uomini illustri del regno di Napoli, tomo II (Naples: Nicola Gervasi, 1814)

Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1911,
https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/1911_Encyclop%C3%A6dia_Britannica (accessed 11 February 2016)

Storia d'Italia, volume primo (Turin: Giulio Einaudi Editore, 1972)

Studi di filologia e di letteratura italiana offerti a Carlo Dionisotti (Milan and Naples: Riccardo Ricciardi editore, 1973)

Websites

Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei: <http://www.lincci.it/index.php>

Edit 16: http://edit16.iccu.sbn.it/web_iccu/imain.htm

Cataloghi storici digitalizzati: <http://cataloghistorici.bdi.sbn.it/>

Dizionario biografico degli Italiani: <http://www.treccani.it/biografie/>

OPAC SBN: <http://www.sbn.it/opacsbn/opac/iccu/free.jsp>

King James Bible: <http://biblehub.com/matthew/19-24.htm>